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ABSTRACT

This document considers the education of Oriental Americans a dilemma, since the Oriental-American minority is reported to represent proportionately the highest educated group in the U.S., bears a pluralistic and bicultural background, and a long history of having been subjected to restrictions and exploitation in the American West. The main emphasis and the major theme of writing in the document is on education and the community, specifically Oriental American. Three minority groups, Japanese, Filipino, and Chinese (Koreans as a group for study are included only in the summary and conclusion section) living in California are examined in terms of various areas such as historicism, acculturation, contact, competition, accomodation, assimilation, the culture and the family, housing, employment, religion, and education and the dropout. A chronology of dates which lends emphasis to sequence of events is applied in some sections. The summary and conclusion section relies heavily on Arnold G. Holden's "A Typology of Individual Migration Patterns," whose typology was employed to classify the sub-groups into its eight cells. (Author/AM)

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EDUCATION: THE DILEMMA
OF THE
ORIENTAL - AMERICAN

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By
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University of Southern California
1969

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INTRODUCTION

The title Education: The Dilemma of the Oriental-American, employs the positive operational definition of dilemma. It is indeed a dilemma that the Oriental-American, a definite minority (Table I), is the highest educated group, proportionately, in America. It is a dilemma that the Oriental-American operating from a pluralistic and bi-cultural basis is able to achieve, educationally, beyond the other Americans, including the Anglo-American, in the American cultural milieu.

It is hoped that the exploration, analyzation, and reporting of some of the cultural factors that separate the positive "yellow" educational achievement level from the lesser "black," "red," and the "white" levels will point out a way to equate American education on a high plane and also to solve the educational dilemma and the need for such a dilemma.

EMPHASES OF THE STUDY

This writing is devoted to the theme topic of education and the community--bridging the gap, but more specifically bridging the gap to the Oriental community. It is no simple task to attempt to bridge the gap to a single ethnic or racial group, let alone three and possibly four ethnic or racial groups which compose the Oriental community.

Within this writing Oriental community refers to people of Japanese, Chinese, Filipino, and Korean descent. The three minority groups described in the following pages have in common an Asian heritage, an ancestral language other than English, and a long history of victims of restriction and exploitation in America, particularly in the West.

The emphasis on this writing is limited to California (it is assumed that the manifestations in California are carried out in Chicago, New York, Boston, and other cities that have a representative Oriental population). The last census (1960) indicated that there were close to one-half million people of Japanese ancestry residing in the United States. California has about one-third of the total. The Japanese population in the United States numbers 464,332, with 33.9% (157,317) residing in California. The people of Chinese ancestry residing in the United States numbered around 237,292, with about 40.3% (95,600) of that number in California. The people of Filipino ancestry residing in the United States numbered 176,310 with 37.1 per cent (65,459) in California. The total of the three racial groups was 877,934 in the United States with over one-third of the total Oriental population residing in California. The Orientals in California represent about two per cent of the total state population. See Table 2.

The majority of California's Japanese population, 52 per cent, resided in the Los Angeles-Long Beach Metropolitan area in 1960. The largest group of Chinese residents, 55 per cent, were in the San Francisco-Oakland Metropolitan area. (See Table 3) Twenty-one per cent were in the Los Angeles-Long Beach Metropolitan area. The Filipino population was more widely dispersed

TABLE 1

SIZE OF MINORITY GROUPS IN THE UNITED STATES, 1960-1963

Minority Group	Year	Number	Percent
Roman Catholics (42,876,605) Excluding Catholics enumerated below: Mexicans, other than Latin Americans, Negro Catholics, Indian Catholics, Puerto Ricans, Spanish-speaking Americans living in the Southwest	1960	38,231,210	21.32
Negroes, including 64,569 foreign-born and 703,443 Catholics	1960	18,348,619	10.51
Jews	1963	5,365,000	2.99
Southwestern Spanish Americans	1960	3,464,999	1.93
Mexicans			
Foreign born	1960	572,564	0.32
Native born, whites with one or both parents from Mexico	1960	1,152,274	0.64
Indians, including 129,070 Catholics	1963	546,228	0.30
Foreign born from Balkan nations with few Roman Catholics (Greece, Turkey, Bulgaria, Rumania)	1960	324,173	0.18
Puerto Ricans	1960	855,724	0.47
Whites from Central Sand South America and West Indies			
Foreign born	1960	801,152	0.45
Native born white with one or both parents from Latin America	1960	1,312,437	0.73
Japanese, including 109,175 foreign born	1960	473,170	0.26
Chinese, including 99,735 foreign born	1960	236,084	0.13
Minor Asiatic races, including: 201,746 Filipino; 1,976 Koreans; 27,538 other	1960	249,040	0.14
Sub-Total, all minorities except for Catholics not excluded in first entry		34,363,599	19.16
Total all minorities, including Catholics		72,594,809	40.48
Total population of the United States	1960	179,325,657	

TABLE 2

JAPANESE, CHINESE, AND FILIPINO POPULATION
1960

JAPANESE	Japanese Population	Per cent of total Japanese population in the United States
United States Total	464,332	100.0
Hawaii	203,455	43.8
California	157,317	33.9
Washington	16,652	3.6
Illinois	14,074	3.0
New York	8,702	1.9
Colorado	6,846	1.5
Oregon	5,016	1.1
Utah	4,371	0.9
Texas	4,053	0.9
Other states	43,846	9.4

CHINESE	Chinese Population	Per cent of total Chinese population in the U.S.
United States, total	237,292	100.0
California	95,600	40.3
Hawaii	38,197	16.1
New York	37,573	15.8
Illinois	7,047	3.0
Massachusetts	6,745	2.8
Washington	5,491	2.3
Texas	4,172	1.8
Oregon	2,995	1.3
Arizona	2,936	1.2
Other states	36,536	15.4

FILIPINO	Filipino population	Per cent of total Filipino Population in the U.S.
United States, total	176,310	100.0
Hawaii	69,070	39.2
California	65,459	37.1
Washington	7,110	4.0
New York	5,403	3.1
Illinois	3,587	2.0
Other States	25,681	14.6

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census. Based on a complete count of the population.

TABLE 3

POPULATION BY METROPOLITAN AREA

Metropolitan area	Japanese			Chinese			Filipino		
	Number	Per cent Japanese of total		Number	Per cent Chinese of total		Number	Per cent Filipino of total	
		State	area		State	area		State	area
California, total	157,317	100.0	1.0	95,600	100.0	0.6	65,459	100.0	0.4
Fresno	6,252	4.0	1.7	1,733	1.8	0.5	696	1.1	0.2
Los Angeles-Long Beach	81,204	51.7	1.2	19,730	20.6	0.3	12,869	19.7	0.2
Sacramento	8,124	5.2	1.6	6,770	7.1	1.3	1,845	2.8	0.4
San Diego	4,778	3.0	0.5	1,586	1.7	0.2	5,114	7.8	0.5
San Francisco-Oakland	24,462	15.5	0.9	52,984	55.4	1.9	21,451	32.7	0.8
San Jose	10,432	6.6	1.6	2,394	2.5	0.4	2,333	3.6	0.4
Remainder of state	22,065	14.0	0.6	10,403	10.9	0.3	21,151	32.3	0.6

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census. Based on a complete count of the population.

throughout the state than were the Japanese and Chinese. One-third were in the San Francisco-Oakland Metropolitan area; 20 per cent were in the Los Angeles-Long Beach Metropolitan area. Thirty-two per cent of all Filipinos lives outside the state's major metropolitan areas.

Within the Oriental community, education is encouraged, at least it is not discouraged. Among those men who had completed, four or more years of college, the standings were:

1.	Chinese	(13.3)
2.	Japanese	(11.9)
3.	White	(10.7)
4.	Filipino	(3.9)
5.	Other non-white	(3.5)

Among those women who had completed four or more years of college, the standings were:

1.	Filipino	(9.2)
2.	Chinese	(8.9)
3.	White	(6.6)
4.	Japanese	(5.7)
5.	Other non-white	(3.4)

It can readily be seen (Table 4 that the Oriental is stimulated and motivated to attain a high degree of education. How ? Why? In spite of and despite the prejudices and discriminations that the Oriental has been and is subject to, he still attains an education beyond prognostication. In addition to prejudice and discrimination the segregation patterns of and toward the Oriental represents voluntary or involuntary segregation. D. Y. Yuan in Phylon (Fall, 1963), 255-65, presented the following:

Scale of Segregation

Voluntary Segregation	(1) Strict voluntary
	(2) Voluntary
	(3) Voluntary involving involuntary factor(s)
Involuntary Segregation	(4) Involuntary involving voluntary factor(s)
	(5) Involuntary
	(6) Strict involuntary (38:255-65)

> Firstly, strict voluntary segregation is almost impossible in the field of race relations but is possible in other relationships. . . . Secondly, voluntary segregation is possible in race relations. . . Thirdly, there is voluntary segregation involving involuntary factors, of which the Chinese community in New York is a good example . . . .

TABLE 4
SCHOOL LEVEL COMPLETED BY PERSONS 14 YEARS OLD AND OVER, BY SEX, CALIFORNIA, 1960

School level completed	White		Japanese		Chinese		Filipino		Other nonwhite	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
Total population, 14 years and over	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
None	1.6	1.3	2.6	2.9	15.8	18.7	7.8	2.3	2.0	1.5
Elementary										
Grades 1-4	3.4	2.6	2.1	2.2	6.9	5.8	16.8	7.0	7.6	5.7
Grades 5-6	4.0	3.6	2.5	3.2	6.6	5.4	10.5	6.6	8.3	7.6
Grade 7	4.5	3.6	1.8	1.4	3.3	2.0	7.8	5.0	6.9	6.6
Grade 8	13.7	13.3	10.5	10.4	8.2	6.8	10.2	9.7	13.0	13.0
High school										
Grades 9 - 11	24.3	24.5	17.4	16.0	13.9	13.2	18.1	23.2	28.7	29.0
Grade 12	24.4	31.5	34.3	43.3	16.1	24.9	15.4	21.9	20.6	23.1
College										
1-3 years	13.4	13.0	16.9	14.9	15.9	14.3	9.5	15.1	9.4	10.0
44 or more years	10.7	6.6	11.9	5.7	13.3	8.9	3.9	9.2	3.5	3.4

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census. Based on a 25 per cent sample of the population.

Fourthly, involuntary segregation involving factors is also found in present-day race relations. . . . .
Fifthly, there is involuntary segregation, which applies to Negroes in the United States. . . . .
Finally, there is strict involuntary segregation which is not often seen today. One possible example would be slavery, for slaves are treated under separate and unequal principles. (16:364-365)

How do minority group members, Orientals and others, feel about their inferior status? What are the social consequences of these feelings and actions? How do members tend to deal with their inequalities and deprivations? No minority member reacts to all the forces of prejudice and discrimination--reactions are highly individualized, the enculturative, acculturative, transculturative, and assimilative impingements have heavy influence of reactions. The following eleven types of reactions to prejudice, discrimination, and segregation are descriptive rather than prescriptive:

1. Feelings of anger and pain
2. Feelings of terror and fear
3. Avoidance and withdrawal--the Oriental does a lot of this type.
4. Hypersensitivity as a reaction
5. Feelings of inferiority
6. Self-hatred among minority group members
7. Self-isolation and separation--the Oriental manifests a lot of this type.
8. Assimilation as a reaction
9. Cultural pluralism as a response
10. Militancy and protest (23:143-144)
11. Protest

The preceding components comprise the educational dilemma of the Oriental-American; they also are the foci of this writing, which will investigate some of the economic, social, psychological, and educational forces that impinge on the Oriental in American society.

Any dilemma associated with an immigrant group has to be concerned with demography; any demographic discussion associated with immigrants or immigrant groups into the United States of America must be concerned with the United States immigration policy, policies, or both.

The following dates and data give a brief focus on some of the high points in the development of United States immigration policy.

1882 - The first national legislation in the immigration field was enacted. Selected criteria were established for prospective immigrants in an effort to exclude paupers, criminals, and disease carriers.

1882 - Legislation was enacted that barred at first, Chinese, and then all Orientals from both immigration and naturalization.

1917 - A literacy test was set up for immigrants, which would exclude illiterates. This test was not effective in limiting immigrants.

1921 - The number of immigrants admissible from a given country in a one-year period was restricted to three per cent (3%) of the number of people resident in the United States in 1910 who came from that country.

1924 - Legislation was enacted which was the basis for the National-Origins Quota System. Some concepts of this legislation are still in effect:

I. The law limited the total number of immigrants to be admitted into the U.S. in a one-year period to 150,000.

II. The Quota System heavily favored immigrants from England, Ireland, Scandinavia, and Germany. At the same time it discriminated against immigrants from Southern and Eastern Europe. Since 1924, most of the immigration into the U.S. has been accounted for, not by persons entering under National Quotas, but by persons entering under various non-quota provisions.

1952 - Congress passed a new immigration act authored by Senator McCarran of Nevada and Representative Walter of Pennsylvania.

I. The law used the 1920 census as the base for fixing the total number of immigrants admissible each year. It also retained the National-Origins Quota System.

II. The law eliminated a feature of the 1924 Act which had permitted Negroes from the British West Indies to enter the United States as a part of the British quota.

III. The law embodies a new emphasis on so-called national security and also on political grounds for deportation and denaturalization.

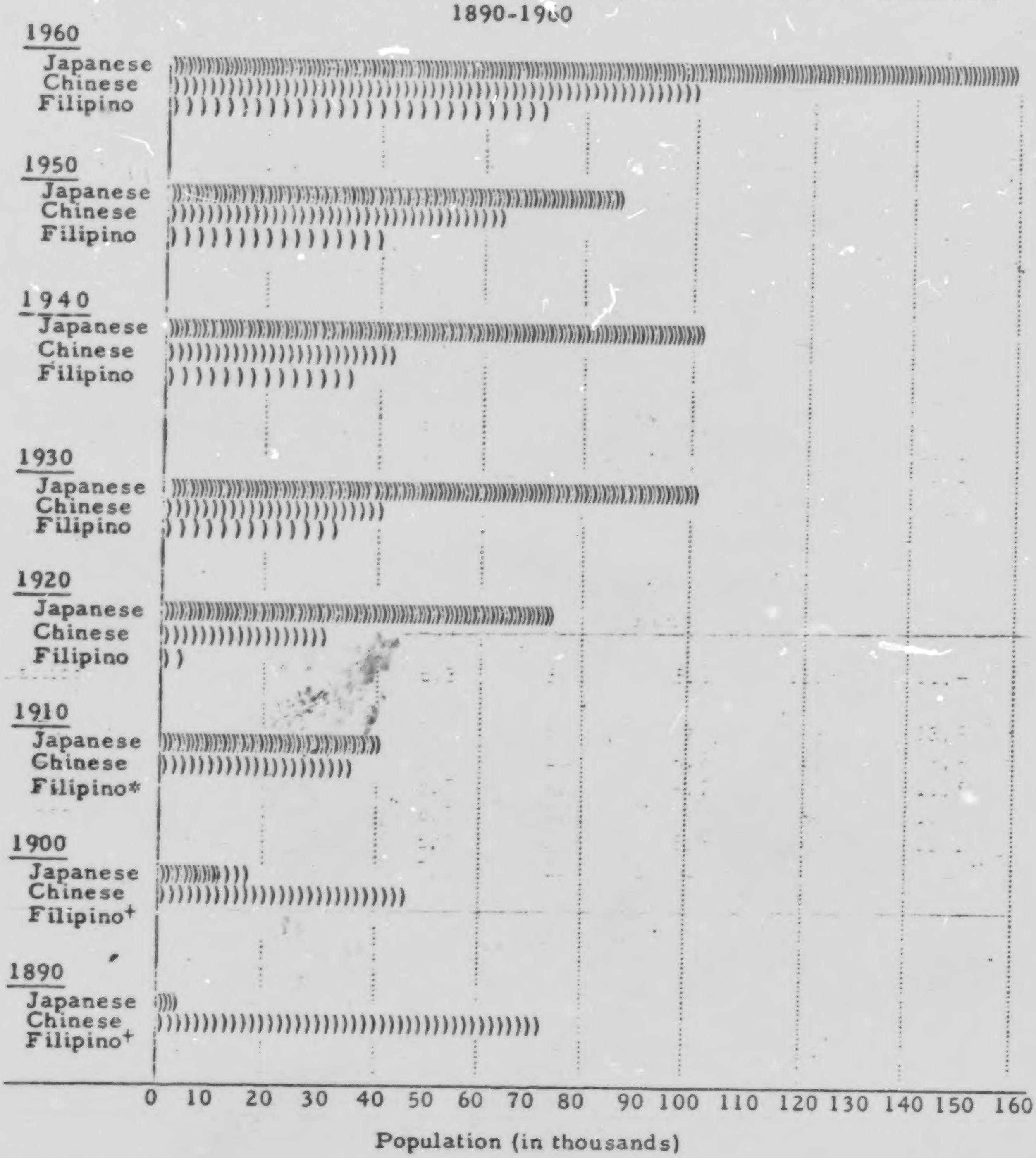
STRUCTURE OF THE STUDY

As previously stated, it is a herculean job oto attempt to bridge the educational gap to one ethnic group. Therefore, first, this study will devote its first part to the Japanese (the most populous group), the second section to the Chinese, and the third portion to the Filipino. (Chart I) The Koreans, as a group for study, will not be represented. (See Table 2) Second, each section will have its own units of:

1. Historicism
2. Acculturation
3. Contact, competition, accommodation, and assimilation
4. The culture and the family
5. Housing

CHART 1

CALIFORNIANS OF JAPANESE, CHINESE, AND FILIPINO ANCESTRY
1890-1960



* Five only

+ Not available

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census.

6. Employment (Table 5)
7. Religion
8. Education and the dropout.

Third, chronology of dates will be applied in some sections to lend emphasis to the sequential patterns of events, favorable and unfavorable, that relate to the Oriental in America.

Fourth, the summary, and conclusions will return to the inclusive Oriental-American as referring to Japanese, Chinese, Filipino, and Korean descendents presently (1960) residing in the United States generally, and in California, particularly. (Table 6)

The summary will rely heavily on Arnold G. Holden's "A Typology of Individual Migration Patterns," Summation, June, 1968, Number 1, pages 15-28. The Typology will be employed to classify the Japanese, Chinese, and Filipinos into its eight cells.

DEFINITIONS OF SELECTED TERMS

I. ACCOMMODATION - A social process or product which follows, reduces, or avoids conflict. That is to say the resolution of the contact is necessary for maintenance of the social order, but without implying a complete resolution of conflict mutually satisfactory to the contenders.

II. ACCULTURATION - That process of culture change in which more or less continuous contact between two or more culturally distinct groups results in one group taking over elements of the culture of the other group or groups. Acculturation is concerned with results of the contact and interaction of at least two distinct cultural groups; it assumes a baseline of time from which the process begins; it makes one group's culture the point of reference, and focuses upon the events and processes by which that group responds to more or less continuous contact by variously accepting the formulating and rejecting elements of the other culture or cultures.

III. ASSIMILATION* - The process of becoming "alike" or "more alike." It denotes (a) the process whereby a group, generally a minority or immigrant group, is, through contact, absorbed into the culture of another group or groups. Immigrants from different cultures may be assimilated into the American culture at different rates but they all experience a similar process of assimilation and face many of the same problems. The

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* See Robert E. Park, On Social Control and Collective Behavior, "Racial Assimilation in Secondary Groups", 1967. The University of Chicago Press, for a thorough treatise on assimilation.

TABLE 5

UNEMPLOYMENT RATES, BY METROPOLITAN AREA AND SEX
White, Japanese, Chinese, Filipino, and Other Nonwhite Persons
California, 1960
(Unemployed persons as a percent of civilian labor force, persons 14 years old and over)

Metropolitan area	Male				
	White	Japanese	Chinese	Filipino	other nonwhite
California	5.5	2.6	4.9	7.8	12.7
Fresno	7.0	3.0	a	a	19.5
Los Angeles-Long Beach	5.2	2.8	4.7	8.0	11.1
Sacramento	5.4	2.6	4.2	a	10.9
San Diego	6.1	2.2	a	3.0	11.2
San Francisco-Oakland	4.8	3.0	5.4	9.3	14.4
San Jose	4.4	1.4	a	a	a
	Female				
California	6.3	3.1	5.1	13.6	11.4
Fresno	9.1	6.1	a	a	13.9
Los Angeles-Long Beach	5.7	2.6	4.8	8.6	9.9
Sacramento	6.7	4.3	4.2	a	11.8
San Diego	6.7	5.1	a	19.9	13.1
San Francisco-Oakland	5.2	2.5	5.3	14.5	13.2
San Jose	7.6	2.8	a	a	a

[a] Not available

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census. Based on a 25 percent sample of population.

TABLE 6

POPULATION, BY SEX AND AGE

Age and sex	Per cent of male or female				
	White	Japanese	Chinese	Filipino	Other non-white
Male, all ages	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Under 5 years	11.1	12.8	11.2	10.3	14.9
5- 9 years	10.2	10.2	11.6	8.9	12.2
10-14 years	9.2	7.6	9.2	8.0	9.4
15-19 years	7.4	6.3	4.5	4.7	6.9
20-24 years	6.4	6.2	6.0	4.5	7.6
25-34 years	13.6	18.6	16.3	9.6	15.2
35-44 years	14.4	18.2	14.6	6.4	14.5
45-54 years	11.6	6.9	11.6	24.9	9.9
55-64 years	8.2	5.7	8.8	17.9	5.7
65 years and over	7.9	7.5	6.2	4.8	3.7
Female, all ages	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Under 5 years	10.6	11.7	13.5	18.0	14.5
5- 9 years	9.8	9.8	13.3	15.3	11.9
10-14 years	8.8	7.6	10.7	13.3	9.2
15-19 years	6.7	5.9	4.8	7.6	6.7
20-24 years	6.0	7.1	7.3	6.7	7.3
25-34 years	13.1	22.9	20.1	17.1	15.4
35-44 years	14.6	17.7	13.6	11.9	14.6
45-54 years	11.6	5.8	8.9	6.4	10.0
55-64 years	8.7	6.3	4.9	2.9	5.9
65 years and over	10.1	5.2	2.9	0.8	4.5

Note: Figures in this table are based on a 25 per cent sample and may vary from figures in other Census population tables which are based on complete-count data.

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census.

initial contact of the immigrant with native Americans exposes him to the problems of a new language and new customs. At once, he has to compete for homes and jobs with other immigrant groups, past and present and with natives. There is a period of accommodation during which an ethnic community develops. The emergence of an ethnic group helps to relieve the contact shock, and the anxiety of competition, but it also hinders, delays, or eliminates assimilation. The emergence of ethnic groups also causes the emergence of an ethnic community. Ideally, the ethnic community of the immigrant breaks down, the immigrants and their children become Americanized (through the schools), and the ethnic group is scattered throughout America. Really, the ethnic lines do not completely disappear, some blur only slightly, particularly the pigmentation bound groups. Robert Park, the late American sociologist, specified the race relations cycle as--from contact, to competition, to accommodation, to assimilation.

III. BARRIER - The "barrier" is simply those social and social psychological requirements which the migrant must meet to become assimilated into the destination social system. As such, the barrier, of course, is not a separate entity but a part of the destination social system. I represent it as a separate component in this model as this aspect is so crucial in the migration process. The most common of the requirements that compose the barrier are language ability, occupational skill and aptitude, lack of visibility, etc. As a high degree of skill allows the migrant to pass the barrier, a fuller discussion of the barrier will appear in the presentation of the operational indicators of degree of skill, below. (27:18)

IV. COMPETITION - The form of interaction which involves a struggle for goals which are scarce or are believed to be scarce; the interaction is moderately regulated, may be direct or indirect, personal or impersonal, and tends to exclude the use of force and violence.

V. CONTACT - The simplest unit of relationship between two or more people or groups of people, in which communication is involved. Contacts can be of several types; two contacts are: (1) primary--intimate and personal and (2) secondary--formal (the involving of only a segment of the contacting persons' personalities). The secondary contact is the issue in this writing.

VI. CULTURE - A complete set of meanings and values held by all socialized members of a society, influencing their patterns of behavior, with the material artifacts to implement those patterns, devised by men in communication with each other and passed along by them in the process of socialization, to govern their relations with each other or with nature. (34)

VII. DISCRIMINATION - There are three major meanings of the term: (1) In its most general sense , the term denotes the perceiving, noting or making a distinction between things, (2) the denotation of treatment accorded categories of persons, either favorable or unfavorable, on grounds which have little or no relation to the actual behavior of the persons so treated, and (3) the denotation of the unfavorable treatment of categories of persons on arbitrary grounds.

VIII. ENCLAVE - The "enclave" is the generic term applied to ghettoes, barriadas, favelas, etc. The enclave is, at the minimum, the residential area of unassimilated migrants. In many cases, the enclave is of sufficient age and size to have become a social system in its own right--but one which still retains its marginal attachment to the larger social system, as it does in satelite communites. (The enclave may be either within the physical boundaries of the larger social system, as in North American and European enclaves, or outside the physical boundaries of the system, as is most frequent in Latin America. (27:18)

IX. HISTORICISM - The attempt to see all the categories of social life and of the experience of the individual and of the group as belonging essentially to the domain of history which penetrates, whether accepted or rejected, into all acts. That is to say, to understand the present, and knowledge of the past, is essential.

X. MINORITY - A minority group is, therefore, a collectivity of persons who, "because of their physical or cultural characteristics, are singled out from the others in the society in which they live for differential and unequal treatment, and who regard themselves as objects to collective discrimination (and prejudice). The existence of a minority in a society implies the existence of a corresponding dominant group with higher social status and greater privileges, minority status carries with it the exclusion from full participation in the life of the society." (23)

XI. PREJUDICE - This is a negative, unfavorable attitude toward a group or its individual members; it is characterized by stereotyped beliefs. The attitude results from processes within the bearer of the attitude rather than from reality testing of the attributes of the group in question.

XII. SOCIAL SYSTEM --

DESTINATION - The destination social system is that social system to which the migrant plans to migrate.

ORIGIN - Thus, the origin social system is simply that social system (community, district, state, or nation) which the migrant leaves to travel to the destination social system. (27:18)

THE JAPANESE-AMERICAN

THE JAPANESE AMERICAN

I. HISTORICISM*

> Historians give us the extraordinary events, and omit just what we want, the every-day life of each particular time and country. -- Whately

> As traders in the South Pacific, the Japanese had come in contact with the Spaniards from the New World in the latter part of the Sixteenth Century. Japanese embassies had proceeded to Mexico in 1610 to study the conditions of trade. The Mayflower had not yet arrived and the back door to the North American continent was wide open; but the Japanese withdrew in 1638 to a seclusion that prevailed until Perry's visit in 1854.... Commodore Perry's interpreter owed his knowledge of Japanese to a castaway named Sentaro who was a member of the expedition. (30:140-141)

Historically, Japan has been opposed to the emigration of its people; from 1638 to 1854 emigration had been punishable by death. In addition, during this period, the building of ocean-going boats had been forbidden by imperial decree to make certain that Japan preserved her policy of isolation. In 1884, the Hawaiian Sugar Planters Association persuaded Japanese authorities to drop their opposition, and Japanese in other countries began to increase. By 1910 there were 72,157 Japanese in the United States, The first came to California by way of Hawaii, but after a few years many came directly from Japan; also coming in through Seattle and San Francisco, they settled on the West Coast.

May 7, 1900 was the date of the first anti-Japanese mass meeting in San Francisco.

In 1906, the San Francisco School Board attempted to place Oriental students in separate schools. The Federal Government also made informal arrangements with Japan to slow down the rate of immigration by refusing passports except to those immigrants who were coming to join their families.

In In 1907, the preceding "Gentleman's Agreement" put an end to most immigration, except, for the so-called "picture brides"--marriages arranged by men already in the United States. (Table 7)

By 1910, the peak year was 1907, unfavorable international circum-

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*See Dorothy B. Hertzog's The History of Japanese Exclusion from the United States. Masters Thesis, University of Southern California, 1931, for an In-Depth Treatment of Historicism.

TABLE 7

PRINCIPAL SOURCES OF IMMIGRATION TO THE UNITED STATES 1826-1966*

Country of last permanent residence	Total for last 146 years **	Peak Years ***
Germany	6,862,900	1882
Italy	5,667,717	1907
Great Britain	4,711,711	1907
Ireland	4,706,854	1851
Canada	3,836,071	1888
U.S.S.R.	3,345,610	1924
Mexico	1,414,273	1882
Sweden	1,261,768	1913
Norway	849,811	1924
West Indies	777,382	1851
France	713,532	1882
Greece	514,700	1924
Poland	473,679	1997
China	419,643	1921
South America	400,926	1924
Turkey	370,827	1913
Denmark	357,342	1882
Japan	348,623	1907
Netherlands	345,036	1882
Switzerland	335,818	1883

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*These figures include immigration to Alaska and Hawaii.

**Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1967.

***Source: Francis J. Brown and Joseph Stabey, Roucek, One America. Englewood Cliffs, N.J. Prentice Hall, Inc., 1945.

stances negated the Japanese immigration--Japan began to loom large as a Pacific power. The power struggle, the discriminatory practices against the Japanese, Japanese nationalism, and the California fear of a Japanese "invasion" brought about a tense Oriental-Anglo suspicion.

The racial myths and ideologies that had been previously attributed and applied to the Chinese were transferred to the Japanese almost from the moment of their arrival. Actually, from 1900 to 1941, Japanese immigrants, in California particularly, were pawns in the East-West power struggle.

In 1924, Congress passed a law effectively barring all Orientals from immigration. From 1925 to the outbreak of the Second World War, there was a consistent net loss, of Japanese immigrants, averaging almost 2,000 per year.

In 1940, the Japanese minority in the continental United States numbered only 127,000; 90 per cent of them lived on the Pacific Coast and 74 per cent in California.

> By this time (1940), the American-born Nisei outstripped the foreign-born Issei in the ratio of two to one. Half of the Nisei were under 17 years of age; and one in three of those over 25 years of age had been educated wholly or in part in Japan. Returning to America--for the most part during the 1930's--this culturally marginal subgroup of the American-born was known as Kibei. (23:85)

On the West Coast most Japanese lived in urban areas called "Little Tokyos." Social, economic, and legal forces effectively restricted them to jobs in hotel and restaurant service, fruit stands, nurseries, and cleaning and dyeing shops. Prejudice, discrimination, and segregation were methods to "freeze" the Japanese out of large scale trucking and farming; nevertheless, Japanese handled 60 per cent of the volume of wholesale business and they almost monopolized fruit-and-vegetable concessions in retail shops and markets. Their success in these fields was due, in large measure, to hard work, application to "business," and maximization of materials.

In 1941, the attack by Japan on Pearl Harbor brought anti-Japanese sentiment to a head: (1) the Japanese were declared to be "alien enemies"; (2) traveling was restricted; (3) bank accounts were frozen; and (4) Japanese-owned businesses were closed.

In 1942, military areas were instituted for the relocation of many Japanese. On March 2, 1942, the western third of Washington and Oregon, the western half of California, and the southern quarter of Arizona were labeled "Military Area No. 1," On June 2, 1942, the relocation area was expanded to include the eastern half of California. On August 8, 1942 controlled evacuation of all of California and those parts of Washington, Oregon, and Arizona, that lay within the Military Area No. 1 was in effect.

In July, 1943, the Senate passed a resolution asking the War Relocation Authority (W. R. A.) to segregate in relocation centers persons of Japanese

> ancestry whose loyalty to the United States was "questionable" or who were thought to be "disloyal"... By March, 1945, seven out of every ten citizens in Tule Lake old enough to be eligible to renounce their American citizenship had done so, and in so doing had, it was believed, afforded "protection" from forced resettlement to over 3,000 families. From the standpoint of 1946, and perhaps also in the long run, this was what the authors of The California Studies considered "The Spoilage." (23:98-99) (Underscore added)

> More than one in three of the total (interned) deliberately chose the difficult part of resettlement in the Middle West or East while the war was still in progress. . . . Many of them served with great distinction in the armed forces; others were active in war industries and agencies. Numbers of them moved into the ranks of skilled labor, and into clerical, sales, and professional occupations. Some became disorganized and failed to make adequate vocational, personal, or social adjustments. But whether narrowly defined as "successes" or as "failures" these were what the authors of the California Studies considered to be "The Salvage" of the war, to the extent that resettlement broke their isolation, promoted their acceptance by the majority group, and integrated their activities into those of the larger American community. (23:99-100)

In 1945-1946 was the period when a large number of evacuees began returning to "free" areas. 1950 was the time when 80% of the Japanese were in the West (60% in California), 16% in Chicago, 5% in New York, and the remainder were scattered throughout the United States.

1950-1960 had been a period wherein the Japanese-American pressures toward a segregated entity were reduced. The lessening of Japanese population "Ghettoes" diffusion in the country's occupational structure (Tables 8 and 9), and the great value placed on education by the Japanese have given them new access to the opportunity structure within the society. Perhaps this process has been speeded by the guilt for what has been called America's "worst wartime mistake"-- the relocation of American citizens. (No such mass action was taken against Germans and Italians.) Rapid beneficial changes have occurred for the Orientals within the last quarter of a century, yet, the pace is too slow; the complete integration of the Japanese-American into becoming simply an American must be an immediate goal. The latest chapters of Japanese histories in California give promise of accelerated movement toward full equality of opportunity. The law-makers have repealed, or the courts have overturned, most of the restrictive legislation which blocked immigration and land ownership, fostered segregated schools, rigidly delimited the neighborhoods in which people might live, and otherwise hindered full participation in most aspects of the community and in the life of California. See Tables 8 and 9.

TABLE 8

POPULATION IN URBAN AND RURAL AREAS
Total Population, Japanese, Chinese, Filipino, and Other Non-white Persons
California, 1950 and 1960

Area of residence	1950 Number	1950 Per cent	1960 Number	1960 Per cent
Total population				
California	10,586,223	100.0	15,717,204	100.0
Urban	8,539,420	80.7	13,573,155	86.4
Rural	2,046,803	19.3	2,144,049	13.6
Japanese				
California	84,956	100.0	157,317	100.0
Urban	59,242	69.7	136,099	86.5
Rural	25,714	30.3	21,218	13.5
Chinese				
California	58,324	100.0	95,600	100.0
Urban	54,957	94.2	92,198	96.4
Rural	3,367	5.8	3,402	3.6
Filipino				
California	40,424	100.0	65,459	100.0
Urban	24,219	59.9	52,091	79.6
Rural	16,205	40.1	13,368	20.4
Other nonwhite				
California	487,346	100.0	943,598	100.0
Urban	436,017	89.5	872.961	92.5
Rural	51,329	10.5	70,637	7.5

Note: Definitions of rural and urban are only roughly comparable for 1950 and 1960.

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census. Based on a complete count of population.

TABLE 9

WHITE, JAPANESE, CHINESE, FILIPINO, AND OTHER NONWHITE PERSONS AS A PERCENT OF TOTAL EMPLOYMENT, BY OCCUPATIONAL GROUP AND SEX

Employed persons 14 years old and over, California, 1960

Industry	White		Japanese		Chinese		Filipino		Other non-wh	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
Employed, 14 yrs. and over	92.8	91.5	1.1	1.3	0.7	0.6	0.6	0.2	4.8	6.4
Professional, technical and kindred workers	96.0	94.9	1.3	1.0	0.9	0.5	0.2	0.2	1.6	3.4
Farmers and farm managers	85.3	82.8	12.0	15.3	0.4	0.6	0.8	0.4	1.5	0.9
Managers, officials, and proprietors, except farm	97.3	96.8	0.8	0.8	0.9	0.6	0.1	0.1	0.9	1.7
Clerical and kindred workers	92.4	95.4	1.1	1.2	0.9	0.6	0.4	0.2	5.2	2.6
Sales workers	97.1	97.1	0.9	0.7	0.8	0.6	0.1	0.1	1.1	1.5
Craftsmen, foremen, and kindred workers	95.8	93.4	0.6	1.0	0.2	0.4	0.2	0.1	3.2	5.1
Operatives and kindred workers	92.1	89.5	0.6	1.9	0.5	1.4	0.4	0.3	6.4	7.9
Private household workers	61.9	69.5	8.6	2.6	6.7	0.2	3.9	0.1	18.9	27.6
Service workers, except privatehousehold	83.0	87.8	0.6	0.8	2.3	0.3	2.3	0.3	11.8	10.8
Farm laborers and foremen	88.3	80.2	3.2	13.5	0.2	0.7	4.8	1.5	3.5	4.1
Laborers, except farm and mine	84.7	80.6	1.1	2.9	0.2	0.4	0.5	0.1	13.5	16.0
Occupation not reported	86.9	86.5	0.8	0.8	0.8	0.6	1.0	0.3	10.5	11.8

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census. Based on a 25-per cent sample of the population.

II. ACCULTURATION

> As the soil, however rich it may be, cannot be productive without culture, so the mind, without cultivation, can never produce good fruit. -- Seneca

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The speed, process, depth and effects of acculturation have been the concerns of demographers, anthropologists, sociologists, politicans, legislators, educators, and other proponents, and opponents of the "Melting Pot" since the early days of the Colonial Period. Actually, acculturation started when the Anglos, (a nation of immigrants) upon arriving in America, began to exchange artifacts and other materials (abstract and concrete) with the Indians. In America the dominant group has frequently adopted the traits, habits, artifacts, words and foods of its minorities; well known examples include such linguistic adaptations as "Teryaki," "Geisha girl," "orange blossom," "sake," "sukiyaki," "kaisaki." Sometimes the "majority" has accepted more active social forms; the Japanese Tea Ceremony, the game of Mah-Jong, the sports of Judo and Karate, and dress forms employing the kimona, slippers, and jackets.

Regardless of the preceding adaptations, generally, the cultural patters of the dominant group have been taken over by minority groups. Many members of racial and ethnic minorities have, in fact, adapted themselves to the folkways of the dominant culture. The adaptation is heavily related to artifacts, to inventions, to innovations, and to technology; constantly exposed to the dominating modes of life of the majority group, most minority group members accommodate themselves to expected cultural norms.

The rapid acculturation of the Japanese into Japanese-Americans was related to several factors:

1. "Precisely, because of their historical traits of allegiance and organization," wrote Dr. R. L. Park, "The Japanese are capable of transforming their lives and practices more rapidly than any other group.

   . . . They are inclined to make more far-going concessions than other groups in order to overcome American prejudice and secure status here.

   . . . Whether we like them or not, no other foreign-language group is so completely intelligently organized to control its members, and no other group has at all equaled them in the work of caccommodating themselves to alien conditions." (30:151)

2. The early Japanese men were unmarried, (Table 10) upward mobile, and intent on making a fortune, or at least bettering their social and economic position, and returning to Japan--this reinforced hard work, frugality, thrift, social adaptation, and a need for acceptance. Paradoxically, it was the struggle for position and status--the ease of

TABLE 10

CALIFORNIANS OF JAPANESE ANCESTRY, BY SEX
1850-1960

Year	Japanese		
	Both sexes	Men	Women
1850	-	-	-
1860	-	-	-
1870	33	25	8
1880	86	81	5
1890	1,147	1,036	111
1900	10,151	9,598	553
1910	41,356	35,116	6,240
1920	71,952	45,414	26,538
1930	97,456	56,440	41,016
1940	93,717	52,550	41,167
1950	84,956	45,633	39,323
1960	157,317	78,453	78,864

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census.

adaptability--which worked against the Japanese in California, they were subject to prejudice, discrimination, and segregation because of their energy, industry, and adaptability (the traditional values of the Puritan-Oriented American culture).

3. Most of the immigrants had the equivalent of an eight-grade education,

4. Showing from the outset a great eagerness to adopt American ways, they quickly donned American-made clothes; cut their hair like Americans; used American furnishings and gadgets in their homes; and tried to act--often to the point of caricature--like Americans. Many of them even changed their religious affiliations; for example, the churches were making converts to Christianity at the rate of five hundred a year in California in 1914. (30:150)

5. The California-born generation (Nesei) even showed evidence of biological adaptation: the children were taller, larger, and heavier than those born in Japan (Issei) and the shape of their mouths, due to better dental care, was different. In short, if rapidity of cultural assimilation is the test of good immigration stock then the Japanese were model immigrants. (30:151)

The preceding acculturation concepts are largely evident and manifested in public action, interaction, and reaction. Japanese donning of American group behavior patterns did /does not necessarily lead to a substantial amount of social interaction on a non-business basis. Actually, the suppression of Japanese ways and the affixion of American mores and norms was limited to such American universals as crime and punishment, property, civil law, economic life, trades-skills, dress, and education. The Japanese retained their foods (in the main), treatment of dependents, reliability of character, mental characteristics, status of youth, relation of family members, traditions of origin, and modesty. It is these last, the personal involvements, that operate against the assimilation of the Japanese-American into becoming an American-enculturation; acculturation, and transculturation are now operative but assimilation is presently not a goal of the Japanese-American.

III. CONTACT, COMPETITION, ACCOMMODATION, ASSIMILATION

Two stars keep not their motion in one sphere. --

-- Shakespeare

"No question of our time," wrote Frederick McCormick in The Menace of Japan (1917), "can vie in importance with that of the contact of alien races and systems on the Pacific Slope. It is, more than anything else, an indication of the swift development of the Pacific." The principal area of contact was in California. (30:140)

Since the designations "old immigration" (1830-1882) and "new immigration" (1882-1917) refer almost exclusively to the contact of Europeans in the United States Oriental immigration and contact must be treated separately. In many respects the influx (contact) from the Orient was a flow apart from the mainstream of Anglo immigration.

Oriental contact on the West Coast was dominated first by the Chinese; when Chinese immigration was cut off (1904) the Japanese moved in to take their place. Japanese immigration (contact) was small before 1890 (Table 10) in which year the total number of Japanese in the United States was reported to be only 1266. In the next ten years, 10,151 were in contact with the West; a growth of 8895 in ten years.

As early as 1900 there was agitation for the extension of the exclusive law in order to prevent the Japanese from entering America. The in-school contact brought about, in 1906, a movement in San Francisco to bar Japanese pupils from Anglo-American schools. Although this de-contact action was rescinded, it led to the 1908 "Gentleman's Agreement." Under this agreement the Japanese Government promised to stop granting passports to laborers except former residents of the United States or wives or children of such persons.

The discovery of gold in California (1848) and the opening of Japan to Occidental influences were historically correlated. Another influence on Oriental-Occidental contact was the Clipper Trade which made it imperative that American ships, in pursuit of their far-flung routes, put into Japanese ports for repairs and provisions.

Since the course of events in California, the primary point of contact, was widely interpreted as the national feeling(s) toward the Japanese, California was the barometer of anti-Japanism.

> Thus, as Ruth Fowler has observed, "California residents gradually found opposition to the Japanese an ever-present issue, being applied to almost all their political, social, and economic problems. . . It colored every direct and indirect contact that they had with the Japanese. (30:150)

COMPETITION

> In Hawaii, people came together but systems did not collide. Competition took place under circumstances in which the Anglo-Americans were an alien majority for many years. The tensions that developed in California represented sharp and basic conflicts and the pattern of relationships that emerged there fore-shadowed the emergence of a similar pattern (of competition) in Oregon and Washington, in Alaska and Peru. (30:140)

As previously stated, the Japanese immigration "flood" started at the same time that Japan began to portend as a great power in the Pacific. Actually, from 1900 to 1941, Japanese immigrants, particularly in California, were manipulated in the growing competition for Pacific dominance by the United States and Japan. What had been a friendly reception (the first Japanese to arrive were "petted and exhibited and made much of," stated Ruth E. McKee in her Wartime Exile: The Exclusion of the Japanese-Americans from the West Coast) quickly turned into feelings of anger and pain, terror and fear, and superiority toward the Japanese. When the immigrants first arrived they filled a need for labor; as the labor market became glutted, they were seen as competitors for scarce jobs.

> When the San Francisco Chronicle published the first of a sensational series of articles on the Japanese in California. . . With the appearance of the Chronicle articles, which were widely interpreted as the opening blast in a general campaign, both houses of the California Legislature unanimously adopted a resolution urging Congress to execute the Japanese. By this time, the Chinese had already been excluded so that the anti-Oriental sentiment could be shifted exclusively to the Japanese. "The Chinese," the Chronicle had observed, "are faithful laborers and do not buy land. The Japanese are unfaithful laborers and do buy land." (30:144)

The preceding quotation refers to competition for space--land. Each house, each enterprise, each community facility owned, built, or operated by the Japanese took up a certain amount of land from the Anglos. Even without the growth of population, changes in the community affect the utilization of space through competition. For example, the building of a railroad spur line to a village makes it profitable, efficient, and sometimes even necessary for the local shippers and receivers of goods to build or rebuild at least some of their facilities near the railroad. The first major occupations of the Japanese in California were in railroad construction and maintenance. If one or two leading families of a town build homes in a certain area, this may attract most new home-building to that section of town. If a smoky or noisy factory, a minority group, or an unfavorable land usage settles in one section of a town, competition for space for new homes in that immediate area, and the sales price of existing homes, goes down as people avoid settling there and as the residents who can afford it try to leave.

> In most cases, they began at somewhat lower wage rates than other groups (competition of cheap labor) (after all they were the most recent immigrant grants). But as more and more Japanese concentrated in a particular occupation, they were quick to organize and to demand higher wages. . . .

> Kept out of urban labor markets by the trade-unions, the Japanese concentrated in seasonal agricultural work, gradually taking over types of work formerly performed by Mexicans and Chinese. . . . The general upward mobility of the Japanese--from laborer to tenant to owner--is what incited the oppostion to them in rural areas. The Alien Land Acts of 1913 and 1920, however, put a serious brake on Japanese expansion in agriculture; both the number of Japanese-operated farms, and the acreage in such farms, showed a sharp decline after 1920. Excluded from farm ownership, the alien Japanese began to concentrate on contract gardening and the cultivation of small scattered units of land adjacent to urban communities--land that could be leased without arousing substantial opposition. (30:153)

The Japanese by reason of their skill, diligence, organization, tenacity, and family organization were able to make their own place in California agriculture. Even the "yellow peril" prone San Francisco Chronicle conceded:

> ". . . that the most striking feature of Japanese farming in California has been the developments of successful orchards, vineyards, or gardens on land that was either completely out of use or employed for far less profitable enterprises. (30:153)

The Japanese "green thumb" was demonstrated through: (1) pioneering in the production of many crops (cotton, rice, cantaloupes, (2) reclaiming desert and swamp lands, (3) converting cut-over timberlands in the Pacific North into prosperous berry farms, (4) discovering that the thermal belt on the west slopes of the Sierras was ideally adapted to vineyards and orchards, and (5) controlling (in 1920) 70 per cent of the land that they had reclaimed--converted from submarginal to marginal or premium lands.

> Thanks to their skill and diligence, the Japanese greatly increased California's agricultural income; land values and rentals soared to new heights; and business generally was stimulated. In fact the economic myths used in the Japanese agitation so frequently backfired that, after 1920, the argument shifted to racial or biological grounds. . . . Quite apart from these factors, however, the success of the Japanese in raising crops which had never previously been raised, often on lands formerly regarded as marginal, greatly incited the envy and covetousness of non-Japanese farmers. (30:154)

Competition, non-price, pure, or monopolistic, means many things to many people, products, and entrepreneurs. Despite the innovative, economic, and distribution successes of the Japanese, the Anglos through a series of maneuvers and acts were able to contain the competitive drive of the Japanese. Some containment methods were: (1) exclusion from the trade-union movement, (2) the Alien Land Acts which imposed a serious check on agricultural expansion, (3) the pattern of restrictive covenants (first developed in California) which, paralleling the denial to alien Japanese of the right to own agricultural lands walled off the Japanese from other groups in urban areas, and (4) the Exclusionary Immigration Act of 1924 which by cutting off the source of replacements doomed the Japanese to permanent minority states.

ACCOMMODATION

The Exclusionary Immigration Act of 1924 delineated the main economic pattern of Japanese-American life, economically, psychologically, and sociologically, but, not educationally. This is the paradox, the dilemma.

The Japanese had been successfully excluded from the more profitable side of the produce business--shipping to out-of-state markets, the tertiary function, through trade-union movement. Also, the Japanese were primarily set up to provide goods and services for those engaged in the produce business, thereby further increasing the economic instability of their group. They, after being refused personal and physical services, were forced to initiate their own services. The preceding are examples of accommodation (subordination); a stable accommodation is reached when the ethnic group(s) come to be accepted in a subordinate position. There are two types of accommodation in the "contract" between an immigrant and a native force (Japanese versus American). One type is the accommodation that takes place when there is an invasion by a superior force, as in the colonization of Africa by Europe--the subordination of the natives by the "immigrants." A second kind of subordination takes place when the immigrant group is subordinated by the natives. The latter is the kind of subordination that the Japanese were confronted with and also the victims. In the emergence of a new system of ethnic stratification, there are usually two groups present: the native group (Americans) and the immigrant group (Japanese). The group that is considered native may not always have been in the area. For example, non-Indian Americans (the English, the Irish, the Germans, and other Anglo groups) are indigenous to America presently although there was a time when they were immigrants and forced to play the subordinate role. (Table 7)

An example of the process of subordination of a native population by an immigrant population through studying the history of the contact between the Europeans and the Indians in America: The initial contact was a friendly one, as it was with the Japanese. Columbus wrote that he and his sailors, curious about the Indians, made friends with them and exchanged gifts with them.

> ... It should be noted that racial and cultural differences did not produce hostile attitudes in the first meetings between Japanese and Americans. Actually, the Japanese castaways--the first Japanese to reach America--were "petted and exhibited and made much of." (30:143)

The Europeans hoped to make Christian converts in the New World. Hostility and fear (a reaction to/of prejudice, discrimination, and segregation) are less likely to arise between the natives and outsiders after the initial contact if the newcomers merely want to establish a trading relation; the immigrant Japanese wanted to buy land, build homes, grow crops, and compete with the Anglo "natives." However, once immigrants settle in the new area, as the Japanese did, one group tends to dominate. The immigrants and the natives maintain their separate ways of life in the beginning. However, in the pursuit of felt needs (economic, psychological, and physiological) competition for values becomes manifest and differences in technology education, income, and power determine the dominant and the subordinate group. First, in America the European immigrants had the superior technology, weapons, and power, and they pushed the "Native" Indians out of the areas of European settlement and into less desirable areas. Second, the Anglo-Americans had the superior income and power and pushed the Japanese into less desirable areas, through Alien Land Acts and restrictive covenants. Despite the previous examples of subordination, it is possible that a native population which has not been assimilated but which has managed to survive despite attempts to kill it off and to push it away from the newly settled areas will learn from the invaders their superior technology and values that legitimate protest and use these to challenge the invaders--or even force the invaders to leave--in the manner of Indonesia, Burma, and some of the emerging African countries.

The subordinated native population often fails to fit into the economic order of the conquerers, and the conquerers may import labor from other areas. The importation of labor leads to a multi-ethnic stratification--America permitted thousands of Japanese, Chinese, Filipinos and Koreans to immigrate under this concept. Then when the labor spiral descends and restrictions on the immigrant group(s) are advocated ethnic group tensions often emerge; the pre-World War I and pre- and post-World War II are examples of these tension periods in Japanese-American and Anglo-American actions, interactions, and reactions.

ASSIMILATION

The pattern of accommodation (subordination) will usually determine whether the subordinated group will become more nationalistic or whether it will want to be assimilated into the culture of the dominant group. Where the immigrant group has invaded and conquered the native group, the native group will usually resist assimilation. In addition, when the dominant group remains (as Europeans remained in America) the native group--the Indians--adopts enough of the technology of the invaders to fight the invaders for autonomy, independence, and their lands. Nationalism usually grows, as the American Indians, in areas in which the native group has been subordinated by the immigrant invaders.

The Japanese immigrants did not have the preceding nationalism in America, problem; their problems of assimilation took other values, the reasons for the slow assimilation of the Japanese into the American mainstream are quite apparent:

(1) The urban concentration (Table 8) drew the immigrants from the same part(s) of Japan into close proximity, where they perpetuated the traditions and customs of Japan.

(2) Involuntary segregation was forced upon them through de jure and de facto means.

(3) Voluntary segregation (self-isolation and separation) was chosen by them as an ingroupness against the common "enemy"--the Anglo. They lived

together because they preferred to be with their relatives, friends, and countrymen.

(4) Language and other communication media had a commonality in-through ingroupness.

(5) Asiatics from different locales, in Japan, still brought with them a great variety of languages and dialects that needed interpretation within the new country.

Historically, in the preceding five reasons for the slow Japanese assimilation, is the difference between southeastern Europeans, northwestern Europeans, and Asian assimilation speeds. The culture of the old European immigrants was not so different from that of the United States as was the culture of the new Japanese immigrants. The Japanese are different from and similar to other minority and immigrant groups, for example, in the United States (after the initial settlement by the Europeans) and in other areas in which the immigrants have been dominated by the natives, the immigrant groups usually come to be assimilated by the dominant native culture. This was not true with the least assimilated groups that are designated as minority groups. These are the groups which are assigned inferior status and which are not permitted the privileges of full participation in American society. In this category are American Indians, Spanish-surname Americans, Negroes, and Orientals.

The preceding groups have some things in common: they are different in pigment, facial composition, and enculturation from the rest of the American population. Their visibility is an important factor in accounting for their continuing lack of assimilation.

They are easily identified as belonging to groups which historically and traditionally have been held in social segregation from the Anglo-American majority. In addition, assimilation has been prevented by taboos against interracial marriages (the number of mulatto children is steadily declining.) The areas of uncommonness spotlight that most Negroes in the United States are not nationalists--they are not fighting for the establishment of a Negro state either in America or in Africa; they are fighting for inclusion in the dominant culture. However, there is more nationalist sentiment among Negroes than there is among the Chinese or Japanese who have come to the United States. When immigration is forced, as it was with the Negroes but not with the Orientals, there is more likelihood of a development of nationalism.

Three reasons that generally support the assimilation processes are:

(1) The immigrant, regardless of how badly he is presently faring, is better off than in the native land.

(2) Immigrants who left the homeland willingly are free to return, and

(3) The dominant (native) group controls immigration, and it usually

allows people to enter who it believes can be assimilated. For example, the United States limited the immigration of people from Southern Eruope and from the Orient because, for one reason, it feared that those immigrants could and would create assimilation problems.

Yet, the previous statement notwithstanding, of the Oriental groups, the Japanese have had more success assimilating in the United States than the Chinese.

Five reasons for the difference in assimilation speed are:

(1) The Chinese came from an area that was not considered a nation; this situation undoubtedly influenced the Chinese view of their own country, so that allegiance was to a clan or to the family rather than to the nation;

(2) Immigration to the United States was seen as a very temporary state so that allegiance remained to the clan and the family; it was not transferred to the local government;

(3) The Chinese tended to work in mines or in railroad construction when they first arrived in the United States;

(4) When they moved to towns, they all worked in specialized fields and they all lived in Chinatowns; and

(5) The Chinese immigrants were not encouraged to do anything that encouraged assimilation. For example, at first they were not even allowed to marry Chinese women. (See Table 10)

On the other hand, the Japanese:

(1) Came from an industrial society with a clear national identity;

(2) Urban life had replaced many of the allegiances of rural life, including the allegiance to clan.

(3) Came with their wives, children, and families or sent for them later.

(4) Second generation--the Nisei--established their own organizations (primary, secondary, and tertiary).

(5) Tended to un-ghettoize (see William Caudill and George DeVos, "Achievement, Culture and Personality: The Case of the Japanese-Americans," American Anthropologist, 1956, pages 1102-1125, for in-depth analyses of the Japanese housing patterns).

Anglo-American idealists often retort, "Why don't the "colored" people become Americans like we did?" The position of "white" European immigrants and their offspring is not the same as that of the "colored" minorities; the "whites" have become assimilated at a much faster pace. There are three main concepts operating to influence assimilation. They are: (1) Americanization, (2) Melting-pot, and (3) Cultural-pluralism.

1. Americanization:

> The purpose of Americanization is to make European immigrants and their descendents "like Americans." They are to acquire American customs, language, manner of dress, interests, beliefs, and values. (22:496)

2. Melting-pot:

The idea of America as a melting pot where all nationalities and races mingle to form one nationality--the American--does not have very much validity. The melting-pot idea may, however, have some truth if we separate cultural assimilation from structural assimilation. An American commonality of culture is emerging that is destroying strong ethnic cultures and building the "We-ness" of Americana--cultural assimilation. Yet, structural assimilation is not part of Americana; people of different groups tend not to intermarry (their informal associations are still bound tightly by enculturation and acculturation). For example, within the school plant Japanese, Anglo-Americans, Afro-Americans, and Chinese might teach together, in the same department--a formal association. However, at nutrition, lunch, and off-campus activities--an informal association--they gregariate to/with their own ethnic group. They do not engage in structural assimilation.

> The melting-pot idea also calls for the disappearance of ethnic identities, but the process is different. The United States is seen as a country in which many cultural groups have come together. As a result of their mingling and mixing all groups are to lose their original characteristics. A new cultural product is to emerge which is different from any one of the components, but to which all have contributed. (22:496)

3. Cultural pluralism:

Cultural pluralism is probably a better term to define the American social situation than is "melting-pot."

> Cultural pluralism presents a contrast to both of the above concepts. Instead of anticipating the disappearance of ethnic differences, it advocates the preservation of cultural individuality. Distinctive patterns of behavior, beliefs, and values which do not conflict with the broader social norms are to be cultivated. The goal is not a merging of cultures but a society in which ethnic diversity is maintained within a overall structure of common culture. (22:497)

The population of the United States is multi-ethnic, multi-religious, multi-pigmented, and multi-lingual. These heterogeneous groups show that the

United States is probably the leading immigrant-receiving country in the history of man. As new immigrants arrive, they reinforce ethnic individuality, togetherness, and "we-ness," thus, inhibiting and retarding the assimilation processes. For example, the Puerto Ricans portray two of the preceding multi-identifications. They are white and black, Roman Catholic and Protestant, and yet sharing a common nationality. The United States, a country with so much immigration, does not have any clear inter-group policy. Tamotsu Shibutany in Society and Personality asserted that ethnic lines that seem so constant and unchanging to the people who make them are always changing; in this fact it can be forecast that cultural assimilation is slowly but surely taking place, at a snail's pace. Structural assimilation, in the face of the present (1969) emphasis on group, ethnic, and self-identity, is a remote possibility. For example, the number of mulatto children is steadily declining.

IV. CULTURE AND THE FAMILY

> Happy are the families where the government of parents is the reign of affection, and obedience of the children, the submission of love. -- Bacon

The present writer in an attempt to get closer to the contemporary situation--post World War II--of the Japanese culture and family, confined this unit's material to 1960-1968 data; therefore, this unit will rely heavily on the work of Masami Nakagaki and of Keiko Kay Ono. See Dennie L. Briggs, Master's Thesis, *Process of Acculturation Illustrated by an Empirical Study: The Acquisition of Caucasoid Patterns by American Japanese* for an in-depth treatment of culture and the family. See the bibliography for previous--pre-World War II--writings of theses, projects, and dissertations.

The culture influences the family and the family influences the culture; both influence the role of the home and family in the education of children.

> . . . The home is the child's defense against forces of destruction, and his buffer against problems too complex for his ability to make adjustments. The adequate home endeavors to provide the child with every possible form of physical security, and thus guarantee his survival. . . . The child's family is in a crucial position to support or threaten his feeling of personal worth. (9:11)

The Japanese families tended to consist of more persons than the Chinese and more than the Filipino (up to 6 or more). Table 11)

Also, evidence shows that Japanese-Americans have substantially smaller families than Anglo-Americans, and the difference is more marked in urban areas. One possible explanation is suggested by the fact that Negro, Jewish, and Japanese minority groups have no specific norms or religious ideologies which encourage large families or prohibit the use of efficient contraceptive methods.

Presently, 1969, a new generation, the Sansei, has emerged on the scene of the American secondary schools. These students, the third generation Japanese, are the offspring of the Nisei, the second generation Japanese. It was the Nisei that was directly confronted with two strong conflicting cultural ideologies; in the home they were Japanese culture enculturated. In such a dichotomous situation the soil is fertile for cultural conflicts. Also, the growth of the industrial and urban society in the United States generally, and in the West, specifically, tended to accentuate the social, economic, political, and educational problems of the Issei, and the Sansei.

> . . . Culture conflict similar to that noted in European groups produced similar strains in family life. The younger Japanese considered their

TABLE 11

SIZE OF FAMILY

White, Japanese, Chinese, Filipino, and Other Nonwhite Persons
Thirteen Western States,* 1960

Size of family	White		Japanese		Chinese		Filipino		Other nonwhite	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Total families, 13 states	6,564,848	100.0	88,858	100.0	31,121	100.0	28,430	100.0	310,603	100.0
2 persons	2,272,840	34.6	18,246	20.5	5,950	19.1	5,998	21.2	89,399	28.8
3 persons	1,349,800	20.6	18,197	20.5	6,254	20.1	4,899	17.2	61,948	19.9
4 persons	1,327,167	20.2	20,539	23.1	6,888	22.1	4,982	17.5	49,965	16.1
5 persons	861,743	13.1	15,625	17.6	5,534	17.8	4,156	14.6	37,787	12.2
6 persons	433,149	6.6	9,157	10.3	3,548	11.4	3,409	12.0	27,173	8.7
7 or omore	320,149	4.9	7,094	8.0	2,947	9.5	4,986	17.5	44,331	14.3

---

*Includes the states of: California, Alaska, Arizona, Colorado, Hawaii, Idaho, Montana, Nevada, New Mexic Oregon, Utah, Washington, and Wyoming. Data on size of family not available for California alone for Japanese, Chinese, and Filipino population.

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census. Based on a 25-per cent sample of the population.

> parents "too Japanesy" and began to defy the attempts of the parents to discipline them according to the traditional family pattern. The children became interested in American sports, desired freedom in their out-of-school life, and wanted to dress in the prevailing fashion of their white schoolmates. For the parents, this Americanization of their children brought much sorrow. They could not understand that this desire on the part of their children to act like Americans was dictated by the wish to be accepted as Americans. (9:2)

It is the emergence of the Sansei, the third-generation Japanese, that presents an interesting and meaningful study in cultural and family evolvements in society and education. Presently, 1968, the Nisei is: (1) the parent of the Yonsei, (2) the businessman, professional or politician, (3) the old sibling of the Sansei, and/or (4) the educator. The "average" Nisei was (1) culturally more Japanese than American, and (2) racially, definitely an Oriental. The Sansei is (1) culturally more American than Japanese and (2) racially, also Oriental.. The Nisei students drew together in tight circles; they formed their own organizations and acted and interacted very sparsely with other groups, minority or majority. The Nisei exhibited other concepts of non-acculturation and assimilation:

1. Bilingualism.
2. High scores in mechanical areas.
3. Quiet, obedient, and conscientious application to academic endeavors.
4. Family structure and family-member-relationships were traditional.
5. The individual was second to the group.
6. Primogeniture among the male was prevalent in the home.

> The male was burdened with many responsibilities toward his family; also, once he reached adulthood, he was expected and obligated to care for his parents. Marriage. . . ., was looked upon as the preservation of the family. . . ., intermarriages were infrequent and looked upon with distaste. (9:14)

7. The parents of the Nisei prized their off-spring.

Tuthill wrote:

> The children are very highly prized in the Japanese home. . . ., the majority of Japanese homes seem to be existing mainly for the ultimate benefit of the children. . . . Discipline of most children in Japanese homes is not a harsh, stern type like that used in some homes, but one which wins the respect of the children far more successfully than the rigorous form. (14:8)

In support of the above parental manifestation, Tuthill wrote:

> According to Gutlick, the Japanese parents laugh at their children when they do anything wrong. This is a great disgrace, and of course acts as

a punishment. Due to their great desire to become like Americans some Japanese parents are beginning to whip and slap their children as they see their neighbors do. This is very unfortunate that they should give up their own more humane way of teaching the children to accept our method, for rarely is it possible to find a better behaved group of children than those from Japanese homes. (14:8)

8. Discimination gave birth to "togetherness" against the majority society.
9. The Japanese language schools played a dominant part. See Tamiko Tanaka's "The Japanese Language School in Relation to Assimilation," Master's Thesis, University of Southern California, 1933, for in-depth information on the language schools.

10. Difficulty in finding employment in areas of qualification.

In employment the educated Nisei had three choices. He could accept prejudice for what it was--and assume the inferior tasks of houseboy, dishwasher, migratory laborer, cannery hand. . . . He could go to Japan and forsake America. Or if he tried hard, perhaps he could get a job at a higher level but far below his actual qualifications. (9:24)

11. Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941, heralded internment in camps; the internment led to many psychological, sociological, economical, and educational traumas.

The Sansei, according to Ono, were:

1. Less reserved, freer, and more active in school activities.
2. Not as unified as the Nesei.
3. Less serious about school work.
4. Around 1930, it was unheard of to have serious problems from the Japanese students. However, today more problems exist, although the number of problems is still small. As for behavior problems, that is percentagewise, they are above average. One factor which can be attributed for some of these problems, is the fact that they associate more and mix more freely with people of other (9:71)

The preceding statement by Ono supports that acculturation and transculturation present, and possibly forecast, that Americanization of the Japanese is fraught with physiological, sociological, psychological, and educational problems.

The changing emphases are areas of concern for Japanese--Issei, Kesei, and Nisei.

The increase in juvenile delinquency in the Southern California area warranted a formation of an organization called the Japanese-American Youth

> Incorporated. It is a nonprofit corporation under the laws of the State of California organized to conduct investigations and studies on juvenile delinquency among the Japanese in Southern California. . . . Undoubtedly, juvenile delinquency has become a problem among the youths of Japanese ancestry. With greater opportunities for higher education and lucrative occupations, the third-generation (Sansei) Japanese are not confronted with many of the problems which the Nisei had to face. Although the Sansei are still bound by elements of the Japanese culture, these youths of today do not find themselves torn between two distinct societies. Their actions and thoughts reflect the spirit of the American way of life. Acculturation has brought about some desirable, and in some cases, unfavorable changes; what the future holds for the next generation (Yonsei) remains to be seen. (9:73)

V. HOUSING

Many a man who pays rent all his life owns his own home; and many a family has successfully saved for a home only to find itself at last with nothing but a house. -- Bruce Barton

---

The term "housing accommodation" includes any building, structure, or portion thereof which is used or occupied or is intended, arranged or designed to be used or occupied, as the home, residence or sleeping place of one or more human beings, but shall not include any accommodations operated by a religious, fraternal, or charitable association, or corporation not organized or operated for private profit.

Los Angeles County, and all the communities which make it up, is not only one of the most rapidly growing areas in the United States; it is also very much a searching-for-housing community. In April of 1950, the Los Angeles County population was 4,151,687. By 1960, over 2,000,000 more people had migrated or immigrated, an increase of almost 50%. (Table 12)

Los Angeles County is also a highly cosmopolitan community. Twenty per cent--or one person in five--county citizens belong to one or another of the more generally recognized minority groups. Of this number, 8.5% of the 1960 population, or roughly 550,000 persons belong to one of the highly "visible" minorities, Afro- or Oriental-American.

Between 1950 and 1960, the three racial groups, (Japanese, Chinese, Filipino) participated in the general movement of the State's population from rural to urban areas. The proportion of Japanese living in urban areas rose from 70 per cent to 87 per cent. (Table 8) The majority of California's Japanese population, 52 per cent, resided in the Los Angeles-Long Beach Metropolitan area in 1960; sixteen per cent were in the San Francisco-Oakland Metropolitan area. (Table 5) Minority groups showed an over-all increase in population of 84.2 % while the majority group had only 35.3 % increase. Approximately one person out of every four in Los Angeles County, or 26.3 % belongs to one or another of the major minority groups.

Along with the increase in the Afro-American population, there has been a considerable influx of Anglo-Americans from the Southern States. Both of these recent migrant groups, as well as those "blacks," "whites," "browns," and "yellows" who have lived in the area previously, compete for housing.

In addition, in many areas of high minority group concentration, the pressure of population growth is increasing while the number of housing units available is decreasing. The table below shows the contrast of available housing in two groups of areas; four of high concentration and four of low concentration of minority groups. (Table 13)

TABLE 12

LOS ANGELES COUNTY
WHITE AND NON-WHITE POPULATION +

	1960	1950	1950-60 increase	Percentage increase
Los Angeles County	6,038,771	4,151,687	1,887,084	45.5
White (includes Jewish and Mexican-American)	5,453,866	3,877,944	1,575,922	40.6
Total Non-white	584,905	273,743	311,162	113.7
Negro	461,546	217,881	243,665	111.8
Japanese	77,314	36,761	40,553	110.3
Chinese	19,286	9,187	10,099	109.9
Filipino	12,122	5,418	6,704	123.7
American Indian	8,109	1,671	6,438	385.3
Others	6,528	2,825	3,703	131.1
Total Non-white	584,905	273,743	311,162	113.7
Jewish	425,000*	300,000*	125,000	41.7
Mexican-American	576,716	287,614	289,102	100.5
Minority group totals	1,586,621	861,357	725,264	84.2
Majority group Totals	4,452,150	3,290,330	1,161,820	35.3

Total Los Angeles County	Total Minority Groups	Minority Group Percentage
6,038,771	1,586,621	26.3

+ Population data for all tables included in this report were obtained from 1950 and 1960 census information. Except as indicated.

* Estimated population.

TABLE 13

POPULATION INCREASE OR DECREASE IN SELECTED AREAS
From February 1950 to January 1965

Area	Areas of High Minority-Group Concentration			Ratio: Pop. Increase to New Dwelling Units Persons per Unit
	% Non-White	Population +	Dwelling Units +	
Watts	96	5,320	428	12:1
Avalon	93	3,565	613	15.8:1
Exposition *	57.7	3,925	558	-7.1:1
Boyle Heights	(70-80)+	2,837	467	5:1
	Areas of Low Minority-Group Concentration			
Eagle Rock	.02	460	289	-1.2:1
Hollywood	2.16	11,772	15,400	1:1.3
Highland Park	.27	2,157	2,127	1:1
Glassel	.009	1,634	1,365	1.1:1

* Area of High Oriental Residence.
+ Estimated white with Spanish surnames and non-white.

It is interesting to note that from 1950 to October 1959, 637,399 dwelling units were constructed in Los Angeles County. A liberal estimate of the percentage of these units which were available to minority groups is 2.2. Therefore, only 14,033 units were at the disposal of minority groups while the increase in population of these groups for this period was 221,000. Those that were available were so usually on a segregated basis.

All of these conditions can, and often do, lead to conflicts which require the attention of community agencies and law enforcement officers.

The patterns of minority group growth and population density for Los Angeles County are illustrated by the following statistics on Negroes, Orientals, and other non-whites. Only those areas are mentioned which have a total non-white population greater than 50%. Because of inadequate census figures it is impossible to compile a similar list for Mexican-Americans but the presumption is that the picture is similar. (See Table 14.)

TABLE 14

MINORITY GROUP GROWTH AND DENSITY FOR SELECTED AREAS OF LOS ANGELES COUNTY

Community	Percentage of Non-White 1950	1960	Percentage of Change	Density of persons per gross acre as of Oct., 1961.
Avalon	89.9	96.3	+ 5.4	23.4
Watts	74.8	87.6	+12.8	27.3
Central (Little Tokyo) *	72.8	76.3	+ 3.5	17.9
Santa Barbara *	33.4	60.8	+27.4	24.3
West Adams	15.0	69.8	+54.8	19.8
Green Meadows	12.0	65.2	+53.2	18.4
Exposition *	11.8	67.0	+55.2	22.5

Not only are there high concentrations of minority groups in these areas but they are among our most densely populated. Most of them with densities ranging from 27.3 to 17.9 persons per gross acre are considerably above the average for the city of Los Angeles which is 7.4.

Within these areas this increase in population, without a comparable increase in available housing, can result in slum or near slum conditions. Many of these areas are among the oldest in the city with the concomitants of tension, strife, and crime. It is no coincidence that the crowded slums of New York's lower Eastside and of Chicago's "Back of the Yards" have been the breeding groups for most of the nation's organized crime. To date, Los Angeles County has been fortunate in avoiding extreme overcrowding, but if our minority populations continue to outstrip our total population in rate of growth, and if they are confined to certain segregated areas either by custom or force the same potentially explosive situation will develop that has led to rioting and violence in the East and South.

*Areas of high Oriental-American population.

Later other urban dwelling minorities, the Japanese have created, through voluntary and involuntary (restrictive covenants and "gentleman's agreements), renting, buying, or leasing, their own community within a community. On the Pacific Coast, Japanese communities have been prominent in San Francisco, Seattle, and Los Angeles. Los Angeles' "Little Tokyo" (this district is a large area bounded by East First and Tenth Streets on the north and the south, and by Main Street and Santa Fe Avenue on the west and the east) constitutes a large business section of Japanese. Within this bloc is found a clustering together of stores, offices, hotels, boarding houses, churches, and other Japanese artifacts, related to his native Japan.

> The Japanese community, growing as it does in the new milieu in response to the pressing needs of the people, is never a direct replica of the community or origin. . . , the immigrant community is a marginal community. . . . He (the immigrant) restricts his social activities within the narrow confines of the transplanted cultural enclave in his contact and association with members of the wider community, he maintains, his problems of adjustment are non-social and are confined largely to economic activity. (9:18)

The economic situation of the Japanese-American, and other minorities was the focus of Fred A. Case's paper, "The Housing Market among Minority Families" Bureau of Business and Economics, University of California at Los Angeles, 1957. Professor Case hypothesized:

> In recent months the housing markets in various localities in Southern California appear to be reaching a saturation point, as indicated by the increasing difficulties some builders are having in finding buyers for their products. At the same time, only limited numbers of families of minority races (Negro, Spanish-American, Japanese-American, and Chinese-American) have been able to find suitable new homes to buy. A preliminary survey among builders indicated that one of the reasons why they had not attempted to build for this market was because they felt that minority families could not afford the financial obligations associated with home ownership.
>
> A preliminary survey among 686 minority families has been completed as a part of the Real Estate Research Program at UCLA and in cooperation with the Los Angeles Urban League as a first step in determining what the housing needs and capacities of minority families are at the present time. . . .
>
> The housing problems among minority families are most acute among those families concentrated in the central section of the city of Los Angeles. Since 1940 the density of population has increased the most in those areas in which minority families make up the greater proportion of the population. The rate of increase, for instance, of the Negro population in the city since 1950 has equalled 48.7 per cent, for other races 40.7 per cent. As of July 1956, there were an estimated 254,595 Negroes and 56,801 other races in the city.

The greatest densities of minority families, when plotted on maps, coincided with the areas in which are located the oldest homes and the greatest proportion of rental units. At the same time family income, employment and home ownership in Los Angeles have been rising steadily, suggesting that if minority families have been sharing in the increases in employment and income, then they should be ready and able to share in increases in home purchases by purchasing new homes in less crowded areas of Los Angeles.

Professor Case found:

These results are only preliminary and will be published as a completed report in the near future. This report will be supplemented by another dealing with 800 Spanish-American families. The following findings are based on this study, and the reported experiences of others who have built houses for the minority market:

1. There is a potential demand for at least 21,000 homes, in principally the $8,000 to $11,000 bracket, but a substantial market in the over $11,000 price bracket.

2. Families can afford payments of $65 per month or more.

3. For many reasons, the home buying minority family will be difficult to qualify for financing; therefore, more families have to be secured as buyers than is usually the case, in order to have one actual purchase.

4. The market is not a seller's market. Minority families have been victimized so many times that they are suspicious until they are completely assured that they will get what they order. In other words, if a family is shown a model home they must occupy a home exactly like the model in every detail.

5. Minority families will not rush to buy homes out of gratitude. You cannot appeal to them simply because they are minority families. Success in selling minority families must be based on fair dealing and a vigorous sales presentation.

6. Finally, this is a market which is being supplied only casually and not in proportion to the demand. Builders who have worked successfully in the field report good results and a little more satisfaction from their work than what they ordinarily experience.

Tuthill's 1924 study, and the facts have changed only slightly, shows that Japanese are very strongly discriminated against as dwellers in many areas. Yet, conditions are bettering, slowly, for the Nisei; conditions should be considerably improved by the time the Sansei are in the market for more expensive homes. They, as third-generation Americans will have acquired more of the values and cultural behavior of the majority group; and with greater language facility, they will be able to participate and communicate in the acculturated and transculturated community.

Dr. J. Walter Cobb, Consultant with the Los Angeles County Commission on Human Relations wrote about housing with a focus on the national, the State (California) and the County (Los Angeles) situation. Dr. Cobb's work (October, 1968) was abstracted as follows:

THE NATIONAL SCENE:

On April 11, 1968, President Johnson signed into law the Civil Rights Act of 1968. Title VIII of the Act constitutes a significant and comprehensive Federal Fair Housing Law. (See 'Fair Housing 1968) pamphlet, U. S. Department of Housing and Community Development, Federal Housing Administration, Washington, D. C. 20410.)

The League of Women Voters in their Chicago National Convention, in April, decided upon an every-chapter community study of fair housing problems and needs throughout the nation.

June 17, 1968. The U. S. Supreme Court, on June 17, in the historic case of Jones v. Mayer, ruled that a portion (now Sec. 1982 of Title 42 of the U. S. Code) of the Civil Rights Act of 1866, prohibits racial discrimination and segregation in all sales and rentals of real property (as well as personal property).

July 8, 1968. By mid-summer, significant coordinated action on a national scale began to the end that open and adequate housing opportunities may become a reality throughout the United States. Illustrative is the July 8 agreement signed by John W. Gardner, Chairman of the Urban Coalition, and Edward Rutledge and Jack E. Wood, Jr., Executive Co-Directors of the National Committee against Discrimination in Housing (N.C.D.H.). (See NCDH Trends in Housing, May-July, 1968, 323 Lexington Ave., New York, N. Y., 10016).

July 18, 1968. On July 18, Roy Wilkins, Executive Director, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, announced a two-pronged housing program of the NAACP: 1) Urban Housing Centers in ghetto business areas, and 2) a coalition of Negro trade organizations to participate in the $1 billion urban investment project of the Joint Committee on Urban Problems of the American Life Convention and the Life Insurance Association of America. (See The Crisis, August-September, 1968, pp. 252-53.)

July 22, 1968. A trend toward an increasing number of state and local fair housing laws saw 153 such laws by April 1, and continued enactment until there were 231 fair housing laws (federal, state, and local) by July 22. (See Fair Housing Statutes and Ordinances, July 22, 1968, National Committee against Discrimination in Housing, 323 Lexington Ave., New York, N. Y. 10016, (212) 685-8911, 50 cents.)

August 1, 1968. Secretary of Defense Clark Clifford issued an order, effective August 1, forbidding any serviceman from renting a trailer or apartment where the owner discriminates against servicemen because of race. Also, Defense will provide legal service to Armed Forces men who experience housing discrimination. (See Apartment News, August, 1968, pp. 9 and 12, published for Apartment Association of Los Angeles County, Apartment News Publications, 12364 Wilshire Boulevard, Los Angeles, 90025).

Federal Government action--decisive, consistent, and comprehensive now that the Legislative and Judicial Branches have spoken to confirm and extend President Kennedy's Executive Order No. 11063 of November 20, 1962--has made clear the national policy and the overriding law of the land. This fact, significantly, has been affirmed by key leaders and official associations in the private housing inhustry. Notable among these is Mr. Eugene P. Conser, Executive Vice President of the 85,000-member National Association of Real Estate Boards, who said (speaking of the June 17 decision of the Supreme Court in Jones v. Mayer), "Those who have fought for elimination by law of racial discrimination can rejoice in a victory that is complete. . . . Those who oppose that view should now understand that their position is forever negated." (See Realtor's Headlines, National Association of Real Estate Boards, 1300 Connecticut Avenue, Washington, D.C. 20036, July 1, 1968).

The Housing and Urban Development Act of 1968 on August 1 became Public Law 90-448. This omnibus national housing law has numerous and varied provisions for financial aid and services to low-income individuals and families (and those with moderate income) to enable them to live in "a decent home and a suitable living environment." The Act also provides for incentives for private investors, financial institutions, non-profit and limited dividend corporations, buildings, apartment owners, and other private parties, as well as governmental jurisdictions, to participate in providing such housing. Emphasis is also given home ownership and self-help objectives. (See General Summary of the Act prepared by the U.S. Department of Housing and Community Development, 450 Golden Gate Ave., Box 36003, San Francisco, California 94102. Also available from H.U.D. Area Office, Room 1015, Court House, 312 North Spring Str., Los Angeles, 90012).

October 3-5, 1968. On October 3, 4, and 5 the Metro Denver Fair Housing Center, a leading example of a comprehensive metropolitan approach to solution of urban housing problems, hosted a major conference sponsored by N.C.D.H., designed to launch an immediate major national drive for coordinated, comprehensive action.

THE CALIFORNIA SCENE

March 27-30, 1968. The March 27-30 Annual Conference of the California Chapter of the American Institute of Planners, in Riverside, was revolutionary in that the entire 3-day program dealt with Social Issues and Urban

Planning. Emphasis was upon the housing element of the general plan required of local jurisdictions by the California Housing Element Law of 1967 and upon the professional planner's key role in determining growth patterns of cities. (Contact Mr. Mike Salzman, Conference Program Chairman, Department of City Planning, 561 City Hall, Los Angeles, 624,5211.)

July 4, 1968. On July 4, the San Fernando Valley Board of Realtors carried a full-page ad in the San Fernando Valley Times wishing America a Happy Birthday," announcing the Board's and NAREB's Make America Better Program, presenting a complete copy of the Code of Fair Practices, and offering full cooperation with individuals and groups to solve the problems of communities and the metropolitan area. They followed through with a letter of affiliation with the San Fernando Valley Fair Housing Council and a check to support its work. A meeting of the Board's Human Relations Committee is featured in a new 26-minute movie, "A House to Live In," portraying realtors implementing their fair practices program. The film may be rented through local realty boards and the California Real Estate Association (sponsor), 520 South Grade Ave., Los Angeles 90017, telephone: 628-0551.

July 31, 1968. Former Mayor Fletcher Bowron's Blue Ribbon Committee on Planning and Zoning submitted its report and recommendations late in July to the city of Los Angeles (See Los Angeles Times, Wednesday, July 31, Part I, p. 10.)

In July, the housing phase of the Los Angeles Region Goals Project culminated in a report based on a 6-month study by the Committee for housing, Residential Environment, Physical Obsolescence, and Urban Renewal to the blue-ribbon Goals Council. (Contact Raymond Kappe, Chairman, AIA Architect-Planner, 715 Brooktree Road, Pacific Palisades, California 90272, telephone: 459-2952.)

August, 1968. In August, the Community Relations Conference of Southern California received a long-awaited grant of $258,300 for expansion of its Metropolitan Fair Housing Center. In charge are Bob Matlock, Executive Director, and Mrs. Helen Wakefield and Mrs. Carol Schiller, Low-Income Housing Information and Fair Housing Division Directors, respectively. New Center address is: Suite 203 at 4930 Buckingham Road. New Phone number is 296-6840. Mrs. Wakefield and Mrs. Schiller were on the program of the N.C.D.H. October conference in Denver.

September, 1968. The MOD (Mutual Ownership Development) Foundation in September received word that its proposal for cooperative housing in Pasadena's Pepper Urban Renewal Project area has been approved by F.H.A. in Washington. It will be the first such development in Southern California to include adjacent cooperative markets.

September, 1968. Taking cognizance of the Federal Government break-

through of April 11, June 17, and August 1 was the Mutual Ownership Development Conference, in San Francisco, September 26 and 27, sponsored by the MOD Foundation, a California non-profit corporation. The conference drew national cooperative housing leadership, cross-sectional attendance and participation from Pacific states, co-sponsorship of the National and California Associations of Housing Cooperatives and the cooperation of the California Department of Housing and Community Development. (Contact MOD Foundation, 593 Market St., San Francisco 94105, phone (415) 982-1389.)

October 10, 1968. The Mead Housing Trust, as of October 10, has rehabilitated and resold 40 single-family homes in South Los Angeles to low-income families. The houses were previously acquired in sub-standard condition, and aid through Sec. 221 h of the Housing Act enables the trust, a non-profit corporation, to resell at low monthly payments. Notable among indigenous non-profit corporations embarking upon a 221 h program is Community Pride, Inc., Rev. George Scott, Jr., Executive Vice President, 6723 S. Western Ave., Los Angeles 90047, telephone: 753-1284.

An inventory of low-income housing developments under Housing Act Sections 202 (elderly), 221 h (single family rehabilitation), 221(d)3 (multiples) and Rent Supplements has been produced by Protestant Community Services, Los Angeles Council of Churches, 3330 W. Adams, Los Angeles 90018, telephone 732-0181.

Community integration in the sense of ethnically diverse residents working together toward common neighborhood and community goals is being aggressively practiced by Neighbors Unlimited, 435 S. LaCienega Blvd., Los Angeles, 90048, 272-9831; Inglewood Neighbors, P.O. Box 2245, Inglewood 90305, 750-7091; Altadena Neighbors, 2509 North Lake Ave., Altadena 91001, 798-4347; and Crenshaw Neighbors, Inc., Suite 500, 3685 Crenshaw Blvd., Los Angeles 90015, 293-7550. Crenshaw Neighbors publish a journal with a national circulation, The Integrator, Editor Olive Walker, subscription $3 per year.

New suburban Fair Housing Councils aggressively seeking integration with the help of the Metro Fair Housing Center include Westside Fair Housing Council, P.O. Box 24832, Westwood, California 90024.

A Southern California Advisory Committee has been formed to expand the open housing investment holdings of Mutual Real Estate Investment Trust (M-REIT) to Southern California. Committee Chairman is Mrs. Jean Gregg, 5820 1/2 So. Mansfield, Los Angeles 90043, 291-6714. The committee invites information inquiries, participation, and (especially) shareholders. (Cobb)

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The year 1968 has seen many significant preparatory steps toward humanizing cities, creating an open housing market, and providing decent homes and neighborhoods in place of slums.

Whether these steps are a prelude to the massive actions needed will depend upon the extent of America's commitment in the months immediately ahead. Toward this end, the actions of citizens of Los Angeles County are of vital importance for themselves and the Nation.

The year 1968 is prelude to What?

VI. EMPLOYMENT*

He that does not bring up his son to some honest
calling and employment, bring him up to be a thief.
-- Jewish Maxim

There is ample evidence that one's work, his occupation, greatly affects the style and content of his life; for example, the life-styles of the teachers and carpenters are different. What a person does greatly influences the way he views the world; also, different forms of employment perpetuate varying world views. In the following cursory investigation of work, the emphasis will center on its impingements on the psychological, economic, and educational effects on present-day (1969) Japanese.

There is ample evidence that to a great extent, work dominates life at the lower levels of society. Work affects what one is and can become. It sets limits on styles of life, through limits on income. It defines one's life-tempo: an athlete or a miner is an old man at 50, when a corporate manager is just coming into his prime; the life-cycle varies with the occupation. Work affects one's attachment to or estrangement from the larger social order; political attitudes and even the future of one's children are heavily contingent on one's employment.

The vocations of Japanese in California, as well as in other states and in cities, may generally fall into the following three categories:

(1) Those which primarily deal with Japanese--

> Although the Japanese scored some amazing economic successes in California, the majority finally succeeded in putting them in their place. . . . The principal weapons used--the weapons that worked the greatest injury--were these: exclusion from the trade-union movement, the pattern of restrictive covenants, . . .
>
> The West Coast ghettoes or Little Tokyos were primarily set up to provide goods and services for those engaged in the produce industry, thereby further increasing the economic vulnerability of the Japanese. Refused service in beauty shops, barbershops, hotels, and restaurants run by Caucasians, the Japanese had been forced to develop their own service community. (30:155-157)

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* The tables used in this unit were taken from "Californians of Japanese, Chinese, Filipino Ancestry," State of California Division of Fair Employment Practices, 1965.

(2) Those which deal extensively with Americans and other races--

> Little Tokyo, of course, also catered to a small tourist trade and, in the case of Japanese rooming houses and hotels, catered generally to a transient, or "skid row" trade. The Japanese, however, had only the business which the non-Japanese did not want or, for special reasons, could not get; their businesses were strictly marginal. . . . The fish and floral industries were competitive but the Japanese had a cultural advantage in these fields which enabled them to survive despite strong competition. (30:157-158)

(3) Those which deal with both Japanese and Non-Japanese as well--

> Aside from the produce business, the major props of Little Tokyo's specialized economy were contract gardening (largely non-competitive); commercial fishing and employment in fish canneries; and the floral and nursery industry. (30:158)

The first two types of vocations have been pursued by Japanese since the beginning of Japanese social invasion in the West, while the third, has apparently been the product of the changing social and economic conditions, which has been taking place since World War II.

Industry distribution:

In 1960, the largest proportion of Japanese, 25 per cent were employed in agriculture. (Table 15) Although Japanese and Filipinos together comprised only 1.7 per cent of California's total employment, they accounted for 9.3 per cent of all those employed in agriculture, forestry, and fisheries. (Table 16)

The industry pattern of employed workers varies by metropolitan area. In Los Angeles-Long Beach, a larger proportion of Japanese were employed in manufacturing and trade, 22 per cent in each, than in agriculture, 19 per cent. (Table 17)

In the San Francisco-Oakland Metropolitan Area, the largest proportion of Japanese, 20 per cent, worked in personal service industries. Seventeen per cent were in trade; 15 per cent in professional and related services. Table 17)

Occupation:

The agricultural background of Japanese workers in California was evident in their 1960 occupational structure. Among Japanese men, 21 per cent were farmers and farm managers; another 9 per cent were farm laborers and foremen. (Table 18)

Professional and technical occupations accounted for a sizeable proportion of Japanese men--15 per cent.

TABLE 15

INDUSTRY DISTRIBUTION OF EMPLOYED PERSONS 14 YEARS OLD AND OVER

California 1960

Industry	Per cent of State Total				
	White	Japanese	Chinese	Filipino	Other nonwhite
Employed, 14 years and over	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Agriculture, forestry, fisheries	4.4	25.1	1.9	28.5	2.4
Mining	0.5	a	a	0.1	a
Construction	6.4	1.7	2.0	1.0	6.1
Manufacturing	24.7	15.7	16.0	12.0	17.7
Durable goods	16.4	8.6	6.1	8.0	10.8
Nondurable goods	8.3	7.1	9.9	5.0	6.9
Transportation, communication, and other public utilities	6.9	2.9	3.4	4.4	6.7
Wholesale and retail trade	19.1	13.8	38.9	15.8	11.1
Finance, insurance, real estate	5.3	3.9	4.4	2.7	1.9
Business and repair services	3.5	3.1	1.8	1.0	3.4
Personal services	4.9	9.7	8.0	8.1	17.2
Entertainment and recreation services	1.5	0.5	0.8	2.2	1.0
Professional and related services	12.6	10.2	10.1	8.3	12.0
Public administration	5.9	5.1	7.4	6.8	10.4
Industry not reported	4.3	3.3	5.3	8.1	10.1

[a] Less than .05 of 1 per cent.

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census. Based on a 25-per cent sample of population.

TABLE 16

WHITE, JAPANESE, CHINESE, FILIPINO, AND OTHER NONWHITE PERSONS AS A PERCENT OF TOTAL EMPLOYMENT

By Industry, California, 1960
(Employed persons 14 years old and over)

Industry	Per cent of industry total				
	White	Japanese	Chinese	Filipino	Other nonwhite
Total employed (14 yrs. & over)	92.4	1.2	0.7	0.5	5.2
Agriculture, forestry, fisheries	87.6	6.5	0.3	2.8	2.8
Mining	99.2	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.5
Construction	94.3	0.3	0.2	0.1	5.1
Manufacturing	94.6	0.8	0.5	0.2	3.9
Durable goods	95.2	0.6	0.3	0.2	3.7
Nondurable goods	93.4	1.0	0.8	0.3	4.5
Transportation, communication, and other public utilities	93.6	0.5	0.3	0.3	5.3
Wholesale and retail trade	93.9	1.2	1.4	0.4	3.1
Finance, insurance, real estate	96.2	0.9	0.6	0.2	2.1
Business and repair services	93.2	1.1	0.4	0.1	5.2
Personal services	80.3	2.1	1.0	0.6	16.0
Entertainment and recreation services	94.8	0.4	0.4	0.7	3.7
Professional and related services	93.1	1.0	0.6	0.3	5.0
Public administration	88.7	1.0	0.8	0.5	9.0
Industry not reported	86.2	0.9	0.8	0.8	11.3

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census. Based on a 25 per cent sample of population.

TABLE 17

INDUSTRY DISTRIBUTION OF EMPLOYED PERSONS 14 YEARS & OVER

Percentage Distribution

Metropolitan area and industry	White	Japanese	Chinese	Filipino	Other nonwhite
Los Angeles-Long Beach					
Total employed (14 yrs. and over)	2,390,727	37,635	8,266	5,474	173,394
Total per cent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Agriculture, forestry & fisheries	1.2	18.8	0.7	5.4	0.6
Mining	0.4	a	a	0.1	a
Construction	5.6	1.8	1.4	1.4	5.1
Manufacturing	31.4	21.7	18.0	26.7	21.4
Transportation, Communication, other public utilities	6.3	3.3	2.7	3.0	6.1
Wholesale and retail trade	19.0	21.6	38.0	25.9	12.4
Finance, insurance, real estate	5.6	4.7	4.6	4.2	2.2
Business and repair services	3.9	3.7	2.4	1.4	4.0
Personal services	4.3	6.9	8.0	8.0	15.5
Entertainment, recreation services	2.0	0.5	1.0	2.8	1.1
Professional and related services	11.6	9.8	13.2	11.5	12.0
Public administration	4.0	3.4	4.4	4.4	8.6
Industry not reported	4.7	3.8	5.6	5.2	11.0
San Francisco-Oakland					
Total employed (14 yrs, and over)	956,049	11,050	22,732	8,166	78,005
Total per cent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Agriculture, forestry, fisheries	1.3	14.1	1.3	5.8	0.6
Mining	0.2	a	a	--	a
Construction	5.7	1.3	2.3	1.2	7.0
Manufacturing	21.8	9.4	17.4	13.5	14.3
Transportation, communication, and other public utilities	9.2	5.0	4.4	10.3	9.1
Wholesale and retail trade	19.6	16.7	34.7	17.4	8.8
Finance, insurance, and real estate	7.1	5.3	5.3	4.8	2.0
Business and repair services	3.7	2.9	1.7	1.2	2.4
Personal services	4.7	19.6	8.9	12.1	18.2
Entertainment, recreation services	1.1	0.6	0.7	2.3	0.8
Professional and related services	14.1	14.6	9.3	11.8	13.2
Public Administration	6.6	7.0	8.1	10.9	13.3
Industry not reported	4.9	3.5	5.9	8.7	10.3

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[a] Less than .05 of 1 per cent.

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Based on a 25 per cent sample of population.

TABLE 18

OCCUPATION OF EMPLOYED MEN 14 YEARS OLD AND OVER
California, 1960

Occupational group	Per cent of State Total				
	White	Japanese	Chinese	Filipino	Other nonwhite
Male, employed, 14 years & over	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Professional, technical, and kindred workers	14.0	15.0	16.9	3.6	4.7
Farmers and farm managers	1.9	21.4	1.2	2.9	0.6
Managers, officials, and proprietors, except farm	12.5	7.9	14.3	2.0	2.4
Clerical and kindred workers	7.0	6.8	9.2	4.5	7.6
Sales workers	8.0	5.9	9.0	1.0	1.8
Craftsmen, foremen, and kindred workers	20.9	10.4	6.6	6.7	13.4
Operatives and kindred workers	16.3	9.1	12.1	10.8	21.8
Private household workers	0.1	1.1	1.4	1.0	0.6
Service workers, except private household	5.8	3.5	20.6	26.2	15.8
Farm laborers and foremen	3.1	9.2	0.8	27.5	2.4
Laborers, except farm and mine	5.6	5.9	1.9	5.0	17.5
Occupation not reported	4.8	3.8	6.0	8.8	11.4

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census. Based on a 25-per cent sample of the population.

Chinese and Japanese women were employed outside the home more extensively than either Filipino or Anglo-American women. Of every 100 women 14 years of age or older, the number in the civilian labor force was:

1.	Chinese	47	
2.	Japanese	46	
3.	Filipino	35	
4.	Anglo-American	35	(See Table 17)

Approximately one-third of all employed Japanese women were clerical workers. The second largest occupational group for Japanese women was operatives and kindred workers. (Table 18)

Unemployment:

Unemployment rates in 1960 for Japanese men and women were lower than for Anglo-American men and women. Among Japanese men 14 years old and over, 2.6 per cent were unemployed, compared with 5.5 per cent for Anglo men (Table 19). For Japanese women, the rate was 3.1 per cent, compared with 6.3 per cent for Anglo women.

Income:

The median annual income in 1959 of persons 14 years old and over, was:

1.	Japanese men	$4388
2.	Chinese men	3803
3.	Filipino men	2925
4.	Anglo-American men	5109

Among women, the median annual income in 1959 of both Japanese and Chinese women exceeded that of women in Anglo population. See Tables 20 and 21.

> There are numerous factors limiting the careers of the American-born Japanese, but the principal one is the social discrimination which restricts their choice of vocation. To be an American-born Japanese is to belong to a group that has a peculiar vocational problem, although the exact nature and the extent of the problem may vary from person to person. . . . Dependence upon the Japanese community for income is a part of the economic limitation encountered by the Japanese. . . . Within the Japanese community, in both rural and urban areas, there is a great deal of discussion about "getting ahead," and parents and children emphasize the desirability of a "white-collar job." (29:72-76)

The employment (Table 22) situation of the Japanese-American can be summarized:

> The Nisei face discrimination in the choice of occupations; they are likely to be put to work in dead-end jobs; their family position sets limits with

TABLE 19

OCCUPATION OF EMPLOYED WOMEN 14 YEARS OLD AND OVER
California 1960

Occupational group	Per cent of State Total				
	White	Japanese	Chinese	Filipino	Other nonwhite
Female, employed, 14 years & over	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Professional, technical, and kindred workers	14.5	10.1	11.1	12.8	7.6
Farmers and farm managers	0.3	3.2	0.3	0.6	a
Managers, officials, and proprietors, except farm	5.2	2.8	4.5	1.7	1.4
Clerical and kindred workers	36.5	32.3	33.5	30.9	14.4
Sales workers	8.5	4.4	8.5	3.6	1.8
Craftsmen, foremen, and kindred workers	1.2	0.9	0.8	0.4	1.0
Operatives and kindred workers	11.2	16.4	25.8	16.4	14.6
Private household workers	4.6	11.6	1.6	3.4	26.5
Service workers, except private houshold	11.5	6.8	6.8	16.8	20.5
Farm laborers and foremen	0.6	7.0	0.8	4.9	0.5
Laborers, except farm and mine	0.4	0.9	0.3	0.2	1.1
Occupation not reported	5.5	3.6	6.0	8.3	10.6

[a] Less than .05 of 1 per cent.

Source: U. S. Bureau of the Census. Based on a 25-per cent sample of the population.

TABLE 20

UNEMPLOYMENT RATES, BY AGE AND SEX

White, Japanese, Chinese, Filipino, and Other Nonwhite Persons
California, 1960
(Unemployed persons as a percent of civilian labor force, persons 14 years old and over)

Age	Male				
	White	Japanese	Chinese	Filipino	Other Nonwhite
Total, 14 yrs. & over MALE	5.5	2.6	4.9	7.8	12.7
14 - 19 years	12.2	9.6	11.6	21.4	26.3
20 - 24 years					
25 - 34 years	4.3	2.4	3.2	6.0	12.1
35 - 44 years	3.8	1.7	3.0	5.2	10.1
45 - 64 years	5.7	2.3	5.9	6.5	11.3
65 years and over	7.9	3.8	11.8	14.9	13.4
	Female				
Total, 14 yrs. & over FEMALE	6.3	3.1	5.1	13.6	11.4
14 - 19 years	10.6	7.5	7.0	11.1	24.6
20 - 24 years	7.6	2.3	5.8	15.8	19.0
25 - 34 years	6.4	3.4	3.1	12.6	12.2
35 - 44 years	5.7	2.9	4.0	13.6	9.6
45 - 64 years	5.4	2.3	7.5	15.1	7.9
65 years old and over	5.4	3.8	10.5	---	7.9

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census. Based on a 25 per cent sample of population.

its responsibilities and traditional parent-child relations, and, finally, they may be restricted by traditional Japanese employer-employee relations and they may have to accept a discriminating wage from Japanese firms. In addition, of course, they must contend with general economic problems, such as market trends on depressions. (29:82-83)

TABLE 21

MEDIAN ANNUAL INCOME IN 1959, PERSONS 14 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER, CALIFORNIA

Population group	Male	Female
Filipino	$2,925	$1,591
Negro	3,553	1,596
Chinese	3,803	1,997
Spanish surname	3,849	1,534
Japanese	4,388	2,144
White (including Spanish surname)	5,109	1,812

TABLE 22

ANNUAL INCOME OF MEN 25 YEARS OLD AND OVER CALIFORNIA, 1959

Population group	Under $2,000	Under $3,000	Under $5,000
Filipino	27.6 %	48.0 %	79.2 %
Negro	22.0 %	34.0 %	70.9 %
Chinese	21.2 %	33.6 %	61.6 %
Spanish surname	20.8 %	30.9 %	59.9 %
Japanese	16.5 %	26.1 %	52.9 %
White (including Spanish surname)	14.1 %	21.1 %	40.4 %

VII. RELIGION

> When I was young, I was sure of many things; now there are only two things of which I am sure; one is, that I am a miserable sinner; and the other, that Christ is an all-sufficient Savior. --He is well taught who learns these two lessons.
>
> -- John Newton

Talcott Parsons defines religion as a set of beliefs, practices, and institutions which men in all known societies have evolved as responses to those parts of life which they felt not to be rationally understandable and controllable, and to which they have attached a significance which includes references to a non-empirical or supernatural order. Religions differ greatly in the doctrines and manifestations; yet, there are many things that religions have in common. All religions, for example, distinguish between the sacred and the profane: Physical objects always possess attributes (color, taste, smell, shape, and other concepts) which are profane qualities of the object. If an object possesses only attributes, it is a profane object. Attributes are inherent, stable qualities of the object; that which makes an object sacred is not an attribute. A chair possesses attributes of size, shape, and color which can be destroyed through chopping it into fire-wood--no longer a chair. People possess physical attributes, but also recognizable is a different sort of property which is called temperament or "good spirit." Good spirit is not a constant property of a person. And likewise, religious objects also possess a non-material property--holiness. The good spirit or holiness is not a real attribute of the person or the religious object; rather it is an ephemeral property that enters and leaves the person or religious object in a pattern that is usually unrecognizable. Almost any object, trees, books, pictures, and so on may be thought of as holy--sacred. An object is sacred, then, to the extent that its importance is its ephemeral spirit. An object is profane when laws explaining it deal with its attributes in a predictable manner.

All religions possess beliefs that describe and explain the world of sacred beings.

All religions have rituals that anchor beliefs in the manifestations of the worshipers.

All religions have symbols which help to focus and mobilize feelings and afford means for acting out religious emotions that cannot be expressed directly.

> But leading Japanese nationalists, refusing to see the ambiguity in the Government's position, contended that Shinto shrines had no more than the significance of the memorial statues to be seen in London, Paris, or Berlin. "Foreigners," one spokesman said, "erect statues, we celebrate at shrines." (31:414)

All religions have a community of believers which shares symbols and practices; a sharing community is an essential element of all religions. There can be no religion without a communion of the faithful adherents sharing ethical values (what is good--bad, what is sinful--nonsinful) and held together by the same doctrinal opinions, attitudes, and beliefs.

Aside from the family, religion is the only important large institution that is explicitly and primarily concerned with propagating and preserving values.

Social scientists cannot agree on the depth of religion as an important influence in present-day American ethics; but, they do agree that religious groups act as one source of variation and conflict in American society.

Some writers propound that Americans are materialistic or other-directed (rather than tradition directed), and unconcerned with principles and basic values. These writers believe that religious committment in America is low. Other writers propound that the interaction through religious activity in the United States is quite high. These writers refer to the reports of interviewers on religionism; most Americans, according to the interviewers, stated that they believe in God, that they adhere to the teachings of a specific denomination, and that they are members of that denomination.

Few social scientists, until quite recently, were aware of the role of religion in generating conflict, indicating social class stratification, regionism, or educational motivation. Paul Lazarsfeld was one of the first to point out the difference in voting patterns among Catholics, Protestants, and Jews. (See Farmer's Education: The Dilemma of the Spanish-Surname American, page 24, for a chart of religious stratification.)

There are three major reasons that the members of different religious groups will have different attitudes towards politics, socio-economics, religion, and education.

(1) Historical Experiences: The attitudes that a religious group invests in its members depend to a great extent on the particular history of the denomination. For example, a church that has been the established church of a country will react very differently to secular problems than will a sect that has been of short duration.

> Shino means "The Way of the Gods." The word expresses religious faith about the past of Japan. That this is true may be gauged from the interesting and fabulous story of the origin of Japan, its people, and its imperial family (contained in the Kojiki or Chronicle of Ancient Events, a work dating from the 8th Century A.D. (31:400)

Since the established church -- Buddhism or Shintoism--is the church of the Japanese society, children are born into it.

(2) Socioeconomic Structure: Within any denomination, a majority of the

members have similar socioeconomic characteristics. For example, most Episcopalians are wealthy, well-educated city dwellers, most Baptists are poorer, less educated, rural dwellers, most Buddhists or Shintos are lower middle income (male $4,388), highly educated (male 11.9 complete college) and urban dwellers (86.5%). (See Table 6)

The values that the majority absorbs from its position in the socioeconomic structure affect even those members of the church who occupy different positions.

(3) Theology and Values: How each church views man's relation to God affects the attitudes that its members will hold toward secular problems. Protestant theology tends to emphasize individual responsibility. Each man is considered free to define his relation to God and to act accordingly. This freedom carries with it certain responsibilities: Each man is directly responsible for his own sin or virtue; he must earn salvation. Catholics believe that the Church mediates between God and mankind. Historically, Buddhists and Shintoists are theologised that:

> The origins of Shinto are diverse--many of its rituals are not indigenous--and only in relatively recent Japanese history did it become a unified religion. Ancestor worship, nature worship, animism, fertility cults, and Shamanism all became identified with early Shinto. The introduction and subsequent acceptance of Buddhism by the Japanese court arrested the development for Shinto for several centuries. Buddhist and Shinto deities were not always easy to separate even during the greatest periods of Buddhism. . . . The Chinto religion is inextricably tied to the story of Japan's creation and the divinity of its imperial house. . . .
>
> Buddhism's greatest contribution to Japanese education was in literary, historical, and religious scholarship. . . . The first school in Japan is said to have been formed in a Buddhist Temple and elementary instruction in language and religion was common at the temples; yet such efforts never constituted an organized school system. (36:299-301)

Contemporarily, in the United States, the Buddhists and the Christians are the most important religious groups; the Shintos are presently a minor denomination. The competition between Christians and Buddhists for adherents is rife as both churches have extensive and well-developed programs. Buddhism, even in Japan, has become modified and modernized so that it resembles Christianity. The dividing line is so "grey" that it is not uncommon to find in the same family both Christians and Buddhists; in this instance, an individual usually goes to a church that his friends, peer group(s), and convenience dictates.

Christian Japanese reason that Christianity hastens transculturation rather than the static enculturation of the Buddhist beliefs of resignation and acceptance. Yet, the Japanese, who are Christians, feel that they are not wanted in Anglo-American churches. Some have gone to the larger Anglo churches where the formality, lack of involvement, lack of significant others, and lack of comraderie made them feel "out of place." They found that the fear of a "yellow invasion" enveloped religious activity as fully as it did economic residential, education, social, and business intercourse. In view of the fact that the churches are integral institutions of the community action, interaction, and reaction, the Nisei feel that attendance at their own churches is only natural as they conceive of themselves as Japanese-Americans who have certain institutions that are exclusively theirs--cultural pluralism.

A pluralistic system such as that in the United States, in which people from various religious denominations meet together for secular activities, would fall apart if people took as a command for immediate action all the demands of their denomination. Social, political, and economic life would be impossible; education could probably go on. Therefore, in order to maintain a pluralistic society, Americans agree, subtly, not to stress religious differences in their secular lives. Yet, this tacit agreement is no evidence that religion has declined in the United States. In addition, there are two points that illustrate that the influence of religion in America has not declined. First, as previously noted, most Americans, when interviewed, proclaimed that they belong to a church. Second, all American religious groups have been affected by the beliefs of the dominant Protestant denominations. American Catholics have been concerned with morals and good behavior, concepts which European Catholicism has traditionally ignored in favor of an emphasis on faith, (Pope Leo XI called this the American heresy.) This indicates that religious beliefs and values which are particularly American are still strong enough to permeate other religious groups and other institutions, including the Japanese-American Buddhism and its Japanese structured Christianity.

VIII. EDUCATION AND DROPOUT *

> States should spend money and effort on this great all-underlying matter of spiritual education as they have hitherto spent them on beating and destroying each other.
> -- John Galsworthy

The educational dilemma presented by the Japanese-American poses social problems for theoriticians of social behavior.

Dr. Caudill proposes a hypothesis which promises insight into the dilemma:

> There seems to be a significant compatibility (but by no means identity) between the value systems found in the culture of Japan and the value systems found in American middle-class culture. This compatibility of values gives rise to a similarity in the psychological adaptive mechanisms which are most commonly used by individuals in the two societies as they go about the business of living.
>
> The hypothesis does not say that the basic personality and character structure of Japanese and middle-class American individuals are similar, for there are many differences. But, the hypothesis does say. . ., both Japanese and middle class Americans characteristically utilize the adaptive mechanism. . ., as to how they should act and that they also adapt themselves to many situations by suppression of their real emotional feelings, particularly desires of physical aggressiveness.
>
> Early in 1947, Mrs. Setsoko Matsunaga Mishi, a sociologist, and the writer, a social anthropologist, began to gather the basic data needed for the research.
>
> When Mrs. Nishi and the writer analyzed the schedule data, they found the Chicago sample was representative in many ways of the total 120,000 (464,332 in 1960) Japanese-Americans in the United States.

The school level completed by the Japanese (Table 20) shows (Table 21) that Japanese men, as expected, have a 6.2 per cent educational retention over

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*For in-depth investigation of Japanese personality and acculturation, see:
(1) William Caudill, Genetic Psychology Monographs. 45-46:5-102, 1952.
(2) E.K. Strong. The Second Generation Japanese Problem. Stanford University Press, 1934.

For in-depth investigation of dropouts, refer to
Lucius F. Cervantes, The Dropout: Causes and Cures. The University of Michigan Press, 1966.

Japanese women; this is contrary to the Filipino predicament (men 3.9, women 9.2).

The term "dropout" in the common sense:

> A pupil who leaves school before graduation, as in the case of many high school pupils who drop out of school upon reaching the age of voluntary attendance. (25:187)

does not really apply to the Japanese, who have the highest percentage of males (34.3) and females (43.3) completing high school (Table 20). Perhaps the term educational mortality would best suit the Japanese student. (Table 23)

> The extent to which students fail to complete the school program, dropping out before graduation. (25:353)

The educational dilemma of the Japanese will be analyzed through comparing the dropout hypotheses of Lucius F. Cervantes, The Dropout: Causes and Cures, p. 8:

(1) The Family of the Dropout: The dropout is reared in a family which has less solidarity, less primary relatedness, and less paternal influence than does the family in which the graduate is reared.

Forrest E. LaViolette wrote:

> In the Japanese family system, the patriarch, or head of the house, as he is known, bears recognized duties and responsibilities: to manage family property and provide a future head of the house, furnish support for all members of the household, arrange for marriages, and provide education and guidance for junior members.

(2) The Friend-Family System: The dropout is brought up in a family which has fewer close friends and fewer "problem-free" friends than does the family in which the graduate is brought up.

LaViolette reported on child training:

> One of the most conspicuous and important features of Japanese family life is that each member's position in the family, and the family's position in the community, is defined in express and minute detail. . . .
>
> The child, through unremitting supervision and careful control, is bound very closely to his family, and as a consequence is more dependent upon it than are most white Americans. . . .
>
> The girls are expected to stay home at nights because mother is afraid of what people might say. (29:19, 26)

TABLE 23

EDUCATIONAL MORTALITY OF JAPANESE STUDENTS*

JAPANESE MALES

34.3
17.4
16.9 Retention in-through high school

34.3
16.9
17.4 Loss in-through 1-3 years college

16.9 * High for all males
11.9
5.0 Loss in-through 4 + years college

JAPANESE FEMALES

43.3
16.0
27.3 Retention in-through high school

43.3
14.9
28.4 Loss in-through 1-3 years of college

14.9
5.7
9.2 Loss in-through 4 + years of college

* Compiled from data of Table 4.

(3) The Peer Group: The dropout's personal friends will be typically not approved by his parents.

LaViolette wrote:

> Although some features of Japanese family life have undergone change in America, the least affected is the unusual degree of dominance and control of the parents over children. . . .
>
> The entire control of the Japanese parents over their children is the result of their constantly pointing out to them that they must become great, and that they must never do anything to stain the family name. . .
>
> Japanese children reason that since their parents gave them life, and since they could not even have been born except for them, they are obliged to look after their parents in the end. This is the thing that binds Japanese children to their family. (29:26)

(4) School Experiences: The dropout was in trouble at school when he terminated his education and was but slightly involved in any school-related activities throughout his academic career.

William Caudill and George DeVos' "Achievement, Culture and Personality: The Case of the Japanese-Americans," American Anthropologist, 1956, p. 1102-1126, wrote:

> "Early psychological studies of Japanese-American children compared with other social and racial groups in California public schools (Darsie 1926; Clark 1927; Fukuda, 1930; Bell 1933; Kubo 1934; Strong 1934; Sandiford 1936) give indication of a cultural factor at work which was not fully recognized or explored at the time. Strong (1934), in summarizing the sachievement test grades obtained in school, and Binet I. Q. scores of Japanese-American pupils in comparison with other groups in California schools, asks: "How shall we explain the fact that the Japanese pupils in Los Angeles have about the same I. Q. as the average pupil and score about the same on educational tests but obtain strikingly better grades."

The I. Q. test is supposed to measure the intrinsic genetic endowment of an individual; this is its avowed purpose. Yet, in actual fact, it tends to sort out people in a way that discriminates them on the basis of class origins. Psychologists and other interested professionals are still trying to develop a test that is culture-free.

There are two main views and opinions concerning I. Q. tests:

Conservative:

1. The I. Q. does measure genetic endowment, by screening out culture.

2. It is necessary for many bureaucratic organizations, such as school systems, the military and businesses, to have such a sorting device to enable them to allocate individuals to the different strata within the organization.

3. There is no class or racial implication in this kind of processing of people.

4. The I. Q. tests do not discriminate against lower-class groups and minorities.

Critical:

1. I. Q. tests do not measure intrinsic genetic ability.

2. There is no such thing as a culture-free test; the I. Q. test is middle-class oriented.

3. The I. Q. tests penalize lower-class groups and minorities.

4. I. Q. tests put a "label" on students that follow them all the way through schools.

There have been groups having had their I. Q. scores raised, oftentimes quite highly. The raising of I. Q. scores is evidence that the tests do not measure genetic ability, but achievement.

As previously stated, Japanese students, despite having approximately the same recorded I. Q. scores, obtain higher grades than other groups. Lafcadio Hearn's Japan: An Attempt at Interpretation presents a statement on the comparative merits of Oriental and Occidental education:

> The aim of Western culture is the cultivation of individual ability and personal character, the creation of an independent and forceful being. Japanese education has always been conducted on the reverse plan. Its object never has been to train the individual for independent action, but to train him for cooperation to fit him to occupy an exact place in the mechanism of a rigid society. Constraint among ourselves begins with childhood, and gradually tightens; constraint in Far Eastern training begins later, and thereafter gradually tightens; and it is not a constraint imposed directly by parents or teachers which fact, as we shall presently see, makes an enormous difference in results. Not merely up to the age of school-life supposed to begin at six years, but considerably beyond it, a Japanese child enjoys a degree of liberty far greater than is allowed to Occidental children. Exceptional cases are common, of course, but the general rule is that the child be permitted to do as he pleases, providing that his conduct can cause no injury to himself or to others. He is guarded, but not constrained; admonished, but rarely compelled. (LaVioletta, 27)

The Issei, in accordance with the preceding traditionalism, place a high value on long-range goals--in keeping with future-oriented America--education and professional success are long-range goals. The Issei passed long-range goals on to their children, the Nisei; and, the Nisei, according to the supporting tables herein, have passed on their unquestioned expectation that their children, the Sansei, will in turn fulfill their obligations to their forefathers.

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THE CHINESE - AMERICAN

THE CHINESE - AMERICAN

I. HISTORICISM

> History is little more than the register of the crimes, follies, and misfortunes of mankind. -- Gibbon

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A brief sketch of the acts concerning the Chinese in California is presented here to give an idea of how widespread the anti-Chinese movement was in California on the state level and later on a national level.

> The great outward movement of coolie labor from China, in the years from 1845 to 1877, was a direct consequence of the discontinuance of slavery in the British Empire. During these years a traffic developed in coolie labor that rivaled "The Palmiest Days of the Middle Passage." Over 40,000 coolies were imported to Cuba alone, of whom it has been said that at least 80 per cent had been decoyed or kidnapped. By 1862 the movement had reached such proportions that the American Government was forced to prohibit American ships from participating in the China-West Indies traffic. (18:98-99)

The first three immigrants from China to modern California came in 1848 as servants for the Gillespie Family.

In 1849 the Chinese population increased to 54 men and 1 woman; in 1850 to 789 men and 2 women, then the increasing numbers swelled to 18,026 men to 14 women by 1852. (See Table 24)

By 1851 there were numerous Chinese communities throughout the mining districts of Northern California.

In 1852 a Foreign Miners' Tax was passed in California to discourage foreigners from mining activity. In 1856 the license was $6 monthly; in 1857 it was $8 monthly and in 1858 it was $10 monthly and so on for each succeeding year. The tax collectors were allowed to keep part of the money collected as fees. More often than not the Chinese miners were approached at night by collectors more than once within the same month. (All Chinese looked alike to the whites.) If they refused to pay they were stabbed, shot at or tied to a tree and whipped. Sometimes the collector on horseback would chase the "China Boy on foot" through the town with a whip lashing vigorously. The Chinese were tormented, tortured and ridiculed.

1850 to 1870 - Foreign Miners' Tax. Originally to exclude all foreigners excepting Indians and Mexicans, later specifically to exclude Chinese.

TABLE 24

CALIFORNIANS OF CHINESE ANCESTRY, BY SEX
1850-1960

Year	Chinese		
	Both sexes	Men	Women
1850	[a]791	[a]789	[a]2
1860	34,933	33,149	1,784
1870	49,277	45,404	3,873
1880	75,132	71,244	3,888
1890	72,472	69,382	3,090
1900	45,753	42,297	3,456
1910	36,248	33,003	3,245
1920	28,812	24,230	4,582
1930	37,361	27,988	9,373
1940	39,556	27,331	12,225
1950	58,324	36,051	22,273
1960	95,600	53,627	41,973

[a] Source: Estimated by G. B. Densmore in The Chinese in California published in 1880.

Source: U. S. Bureau of the Census.

1855 - Testimony of Chinese against Whites were prohibited tin court.
1855 - Vessel owners required to pay $50 for each passenger who was ineligible for citizenship.
1860 - All Chinese engaged in fishing must pay a tax of $4 monthly.
1860 - State Statute excluded Chinese, Indians, and Negroes from public schools.
1862 - Police Tax. Required payment of $2.50 monthly by each Chinese over 18 years old who did not pay the miners' tax.

1868 - Burlingame Treaty. Agreement between the U.S. and China to allow free migration and emigration of their citizens from one country to the other for the purpose of trade, travel or as permanent residents. Under the most-favored-nation-clause each was to grant the same privileges, protection and right of residence to citizens in reciprocation.

1869 - NOTE: "No small part of the persecution of the Chinaman," wrote Mrs. Coolidge, "was due to the fact that it was his misfortune to arrive in the United States at a period when the attention of the whole country was focused on the question of slavery."

At one time, too, the South had shown a lively interest in the possibility of substituting Chinese coolie labor for Negro labor; without the sanctions of slavery it was feared that the Negro might be unmanageable. The proposal was seriously discussed in Memphis in 1869, and on several occasions Southern plantation owners visited California with this proposal in mind. Indeed the project was only abandoned when it became clear, after 1876 that the nation did not intend to abolish Negro servitude. Once the Federal Government surrendered to the South on the Negro issue, it was logically compelled to appease California on the subject of "coolie" labor. (18:98)

1870 - Any person bringing a Chinese or Japanese to California without evidence of the immigrant's good character will be penalized with not less than $1,000 nor more than $5,000 or imprisonment. (Later unconstitutional)

The debate on the Naturalization Act of 1870 points up the relation between the Chinese question and the Negro question. This act extended the privilege of naturalization to "aliens of African nativity and persons of African descent"--an extension made unavoidable by the Emancipation Proclamation. During the debate, however, the question arose as to whether the same privilege should also be extended to the Chinese. 'The very men," said Senator Carpenter, "who settled the question of Negro suffrage upon principle now hesitate to apply the principle . . . and interpose the very objections to the enfranchisement of the Chinaman that the Democrats urged against the enfranchisement of the Freedmen." Only in respect to nominal citizenship did we distinguish the two questions and this we did because the specific issue had, so to speak, been settled by the Civil War. (18:99)

1876 - Investigation by the California State Legislature into the "moral, social, and political effect of Chinese immigration in California."

The Technique of Exclusion. The year 1876 marked a definite turning point in the history of anti-Chinese agitation in California. Up to this point, most of the barbarous and obnoxious anti-Chinese legislation adopted in California had been declared unconstitutional as being in violation of treaty provisions, the Fourteenth Amendment, or the federal civil rights statutes. The federal courts, as a matter of fact, were constantly preoccupied with California's outrageous "Hottentot" or race legislation in the period from 1860 to 1876. For the Chinese in California had wisely decided to defend their rights along strictly legal and constitutional lines. Compact social organization made it possible for them to raise the large sums necessary for test cases in the courts. It was these "coolies" from Asia, not the Indians or the Negroes, who made the first great tests of the Civil War amendments and the legislation which came with these amendments. American constitutional history was made in such far-reaching decisions as United States v. Wong Kim Ark and Yick Wo v. Hopkins. Yet, years later, K.K. Kawakami, seeking to dissociate the Japanese from the Chinese, said that the early Chinese were "slavish, utterly callous to the Occidental environment, and content with the inhuman treatment meted out to them." The fact is, as the court reports eloquently attest, that the Chinese in California conducted a magnificient fight for the extension of human freedom in America.

1878 - Second Constitution of State of California:
- Chinese immigrants denied naturalization.
- Corporations could not hire Chinese.
- Chinese denied employment in public works except in punishment for crimes.
- Coolie trade unlawful.
- Legislature could remove Chinese to regions beyond the limits of cities or towns.

1880 - Treaty of 1880. A revision of the Burlingame Treaty whereby China gives the U.S. the right to regulate, limit, or suspend immigration, but not to prohibit it absolutely.

In 1880, the peak of the Chinese population in California was 75,132 (3,888 women), in 1890 the number dwindled somewhat to a total of 72,472 (3,090 women) so that by the year 1900 tht total Chinese population had dropped to 45,753! This trend continued downward to its lowest level in 1920, with a lmere total of 28,812 Chinese (4,582 women). In the same year, 1920, the total Japanese population had increased to 71,952 (26,538 women).

1882 - Chinese Exclusion Act. Ended the free immigration of Chinese laborers. Denied naturalization to Chinese.

The Exclusion Act of 1882 was finally passed after President Arthur vetoed the bill once. The original suspension period of Chinese immigration was to be for 20 years but later changed to 10 years in order to obtain the signature of President Arthur for passage.

The passage of the Exclusion Act of 1882 set in motion a process which, over a period of years, resulted in the present geographical distribution of the resident Chinese. In general the process has had three phases: a high degree of concentration in California and the other Western states from 1850 to 1880 (as late as 1870 nearly 99 per cent were concentrated west of the Rockies); a period of dispersal from 1880 to 1910, following the passage of the exclusion acts and the widespread anti-Chinese riots in the West in 1885; and, since 1910, a movement from smaller to larger cities and a new concentration in the major metropolitan centers. (18:105)

1885 - In September 1885, a riot occurred at Rock Springs, Wyoming, in which 28 Chinese were murdered and property valued at $148,000 was destroyed. "Shortly afterward," writes Dr. E.D. Sandmeyer, "the entire West Coast became inflamed almost simultaneously. Tacoma burned its Chinese quarter, and Seattle, Olympia, and Portland might have done the same but for quick official action. In California developments ranged from new ordinances of regulation to the burning of Chinese quarters and the expulsion of the inhabitants. Among the localities where these actions occurred were Pasadena, Santa Barbara, Santa Cruz, Oakland, Cloverdale, Healdsburg, Red Bluff, Hollister, Merced, Yuba City, Petaluma, Redding, Anderson, Truckee, Lincoln, Sacramento, San Buenaventura, Napa, Gold Run, Sonoma, Vallejo, Placerville, Santa Rosa, Chico, Wheatland, Carson, Auburn, Nevada City, Dixon, and Los Angeles.

1888 - Scott Act. Chinese laborers who left the U.S. for temporary visits to China (permitted under the Exclusion Act) were no longer allowed to return. Some 20,000 certificates of re-entry were null and void.

While this new treaty was being ratified in China, Congress abruptly passed the Scott Act of 1888 which slammed the doors to some 20,000 Chinese who had temporarily left the United States but who, at the time, had a perfect right of re-entry. Over a period of years the Chinese government filed protest after protest with the State Department against the enactment of this outrageously unfair measure without receiving even an acknowledgment of its notes. By this time our attitude toward China, as reflected in this legislation, was so brutally overbearing that many foreign offices assumed that we were trying to provoke a way. (18:95)

1892 - Geary Act. Extended the Chinese Exclusion Act for another 10 years. Required certificates of residences of all Chinese laborers or else they were deported.

Congress then passed the notorious Geary Act of 1892 (again by a combination of Southern and Western votes). Continuing the suspension of immigration for another ten years, the bill denied bail to Chinese in habeas corpus proceedings and required certificates of residence from the Chinese in default of which they could be deported. (18:95)

1894 - Repealed the Scott Act. Allowed laborers to return to U. S. only if they had wives, children, parents, or property worth $1,000 or more.

1900 - Chinese living in Hawaii forbidden to travel to U. S. mainland.

1902 - Extended the Chinese Exclusion Act without any further limitation of time.

1906 - Alien Land Acts in California, Oregon, and Washington. Prohibited aliens ineligible for citizenship (Chinese, Japanese) from owning or leasing property.

In 1906, the Alien Land Act of California forbade the owning or leasing of any property by aliens who could not become citizens and the Chinese immigrants could not become citizens since they were denied naturalization under the Second Constitution of California. With the exception of the Alien Land Act and the Naturalization Act, most of the laws were declared unconstitutional in California, thus prompting a demand for some action on the federal level by Californians.

1921 - An alien woman marrying a citizen could no longer automatically assume his citizenship.

1924 - Quota Act. This act aimed at the Japanese produced additional restrictions upon the Chinese. Alien wives of an American Citizen were not allowed entry into U. S. if wives were ineligible for citizenship. Eliminated the nine classifications of Chinese under Exclusion Act so that only students aspiring for master's degrees could enter the U. S.

1930 - Chinese alien wives of American citizens allowed to enter only if they were married before May 1924. No provisions made for marriages taking place after May 26, 1924, or for Chinese alien husbands of citizens.

As a result of the series of degrading limitations upon the Chinese, large numbers of Chinese began to depart.

1943 - In 1943, the Chinese Exclusion Act was repealed by Congress, in order to allow naturalization to Chinese aliens lawfully admitted into the U. S. plus the annual quota of 105 Chinese immigrants based upon place of national origin! Regardless of where they were born, all Chinese were counted in the 105 quota annually whereas the non-Chinese born in China were under a separate quota.

Since the end of World War II and particularly within the last 5 years, there has been much change in the attitudes towards the Chinese in California. A complete cycle has taken place.

Today, we complain that we have no spokesmen, no emissaries, to send to the Far East, who understand the peoples and speak their languages and who could explain 'our" point of view to "them." Nor have we yet seen the light on this score. For example, on December 17, 1943, we repealed the Chinese exclusion acts and made resident Chinese aliens eligible for citizenship. But we then established a quota permitting the entry of 105 Chinese per year! This quota can be catalogued as a sociological joke for the number of Chinese leaving the United States each year will exceed the quota, or, if not, the return of husbands marooned from their wives, and vice versa, will fill the quota easily. Of the quota figure, furthermore, 25 places must be reserved for resident Chinese who desire to leave the country and return under the quota. Repealing the exclusion laws was a good gesture but it was just that--a gesture. (18:96)

1952 - In 1952, California abolished its Alien Land Act and the denial of naturalization to Chinese and other Orientals. At long last, the Chinese in California could become citizens and own property in this land that many began to call "home" many long years ago!

1962 to 1965 some 15,000 refugees from Hong Kong and Taiwain were admitted to the U.S. when they were displaced by the Communist take-over of China.

1965 - Then in 1965, the national-origins were discarded for a more equitable plan. All immigrants from all countries were to be processed in order of their application. A total of 170,000 annually for all countries was the maximum limit with no more than 20,000 for any one country. From 105 to 20,000 was indeed a big increase for the Chinese.

1968 - This year, 1968, was the first year the new quota was effective. It is estimated that some 20,000 Chinese will be coming to the U.S. annually with some 3,500 settling in the Los Angeles area alone.

Practically all the early Chinese immigrants were from the Knantung Province in the Pearl River Delta of Southern China. The social, political and economic conditions emanating from the 13-year T'wi P'ing Rebellious plus the famines that developed from the series of floods created chaos and turmoil in this "rice bowl" region of China compelling many of these Chinese to seek some answer to their problems. The Cantonese people sought emigration to California as a solution when they heard the news of the 1848 discovery of gold in the Golden State. People from the Three Districts (Sam-Yup-Nom Hoi, Pun Yu, Shun Tek), the Four Districts, (Si-Yup-Sun Wui, Sun Ning, Hoi Ping, Yun Ping) and the peasants from the Heungshan, Fa Yuan and Sam Shui as well as some of the sturdy Hakka mountaineer people all came to California to seek their fortunes. California was known as the "Golden Hills" to the Chinese and the Chinese were called as the "China Boys" in those days.

During the first few years after the Gold Rush (1848), the Chinese were welcomed and considered most desirable for the development of the Golden

State. The early Chinese immigrants played an important role in the early development of California as a prosperous state: they were in demand as a cheap source of labor needed by the manufacturers in order to compete successfully with the Eastern states; they risked their lives in the building of the most difficult portion of the First Transcontinental Railroad; they were gap fillers for jobs no other man would do; they reclaimed the swamplands of California making it possible to grow a greater variety of crops; they reworked the gold mines that were abandoned; and they did the washing, cooking and cleaning for many of the early settlers when there were not enough women to do the work.

With the ending of the Civil War, the decline of mining, the opening of the Transcontinental Railroad, and the increasing number of white laborers coming into California, the Chinese began to experience more abuses and discriminations. They were no longer needed nor wanted. The anti-Chinese feelings eventually became political issues for both parties in California.

Some attribute the intensity of the anti-Chinese movement in California to the large number of Southerners who settled in the State. These Southerners comprising 1/3 of the State's population, linked the Chinese problem to that of the Negro's situation in the South. The newspapers in California also played a major part in adding "fuel to the fire" by disseminating unfavorable reports on the Chinese. For over a period of fifty years, statutes and laws were passed in California to discriminate against the Chinese.

The Chinese population of the Los Angeles-Long Beach area may roughly be grouped into 4 categories:

1 - Old immigrants who came before World War II.
2 - American born Chinese - 2nd, 3rd, and 4th generation.
3 - Refugees - many college students, ex-officials of Nationalist China, and persons displaced by communist take-over in China.
4 - New immigrants - those arriving after World War II.

During the period of restricted immigration, the Chinese were able to adapt to the new culture and become more acculturated without the continuous influx of new immigrants to worry about. It gave the Chinese already here an opportunity to become more established in their communities and to come in more contact with other ethnic groups, so that there has been more of an acceptance by the white community if the Chinese so desired to associate with them more. Homes that were once not available to the Chinese are now less a matter of "Where can I buy?" and more of "Where do I want to live?" The Chinese in the Los Angeles area are scattered throughout the county so that in almost every section there is at least a Chinese family or a restaurant. There are a few areas with a somewhat larger oriental population such as the Monterey Park, Crenshaw, West Los Angeles, Gardena, Silverlake District and the Chinatown areas.

There was a time when many of the Chinese sought jobs in civil service unless they were self-employed in a business or profession because those jobs were the ones you could be certain of obtaining. Few private industries hired

Orientals; however, all that has changed. More often than not, the Orientals are sought after as employees for many of the private corporations and companies. Opportunities exist today that would have never been hoped for before World War II. There is no doubt that much of this progress has been due to the Civil Rights Movement plus the strong cultural heritage of Chinese parents.

II. ACCULTURATION

> The highest purpose of intellectual cultivation is to give a man a perfect knowledge and mastery of his own inner self.
> -- Novalis

Chinese acculturation into the American mainstream has been a slow process. Investigation of the Los Angeles Chinese reveals that at least five (5) factors impinge on and retard acculturation:

(1) Relatives like to live together.
(2) Foreign-born minorities have language difficulties.
(3) The preservation of the Chinese way of life.
(4) Urbanity.
(5) Religion.

In other words:

(1) Housing -- In the strange, new, and anxiety-provoking situations produced by a new country, relatives live together for mutual support. In such situations the individual is subordinate to the family, the group, and/or the clan.

> Clan associations were formed for people of the same surname, i.e., Lee, Wong, Chin. Because they are so far away from home, all persons of the same surname are considered "relatives." . . . (15:31)

(2) Communication -- The early Chinese arrivers were laborers with language problems. The "old timers" were heavily instrumental in translating and interpreting media, writing and answering letters, taking care of the business of the "newcomers," and making sense out of the English language. As a consequence, language barriers did retard the acculturation processes and enforce voluntary segregation.

(3) Nationalism -- The "temporary" life of the "sojourners" contributed to the desires to preserve their early customs and folkways as related to their cultural background.

> Persons of Chinese ancestry in America can be generally divided into three groups: The sojourners, the Chinese-Americans, and the visiting scholars. The early Chinese immigrants were almost all sojourners or Cum San Hok (Gold Mountain Guests). (15:38)
>
> Although they may not have had any definite plans to return to their villages, their mental orientation was that of their home. . . .
>
> They made no effort to adopt new customs, language, clothes or food. They insulated themselves from the Caucasians and devoted themselves to achieving social status at home with the sweat of their brows here. . . .

> The goal of all was a fortune large enough to retire on and support a large family. . . . The sojourner's success or failure within the Chinese community, both here and at home, was measured by how many times he had returned to China. (15:38, 39)

The need for frugality, thrift, and comraderie required that segregated communities be set up and maintained. The need for the retention of folkways, mores, and customs required that the seclusion and security of Chinese chauvinism be constantly nurtured.

(4) Competition -- The first Chinese worked as miners, construction workers, and farmers; later, many, upon migrating to urban low-rent areas, became urbanites. Their lack of education fitted them mainly for domestic service.

> It was the Chinese laborers who established the pattern of comparison. This pattern could be misleading for the Chinese are often associated with hand laundries. There are not so many hand laundries in a city in China, but as a result of economic competition, there is a large number of them in New York, (San Francisco and Los Angeles). /_Names and underscore added_/ (6:270)

(5) Religion -- The manner of worship, particularly of immigrant groups, is a concommitant that makes for voluntary segregation rather than for acculturation. The religious edifice serves as a gathering place and a source of spiritual strength when troubles become oppressive.

> The first meetings in California and Nevada built Joss houses for their sacred figures, candles, and incense urns in the form of log cabins. . . .
>
> Actually, the typical unschooled Cantonese immigrant is a religious and ethical eclectic, drawing the kernals of his beliefs from Confucianism, Buddhism, and Taoism, the three great religions of China. . . .
>
> No one in China would find any incongruity in the same family using the ritual from one religion for a marriage ceremony, that of another for celebrating a birth, and that of a third for making a funeral. . . .
>
> Popular religion, a syncretism of the three faiths, derives its ethical tone from Confucial, social, and moral ideals, its abundance of superstitions, numerous Gods, and the supernatural from popular Taoism and its more personalized worship and faith from Buddhism. (5:48-60)

The rate of social change--acculturation--was slow at first, but accelerated after the 1900's and World War I, due to the growth of families, the frustrations of the sojourner's quest for fortunes, and the increase of American-born and American-educated Chinese. The children now go to American schools, learn the American language, and adopt American opinions, attitudes, and beliefs. In addition, the Chinese-American children despair at the "Chineseness" of their fathers and grandfathers and are often ashamed of them and their "old world" and "square" customs.

Acculturation is a two-way process, often out of awareness; since Chinese culture came into contact with American culture, some of its traits and complexes have been incorporated into American culture. After World War II, the American people became more interested in Chinese ways, and the Chinese cultural pattern influenced American life more than previously.

> Chinese influences are evident in food, clothing, house furnishings, and architectural designs in contemporary America. More American people are also beginning to study the Chinese language and culture. Therefore, the process of acculturation is not entirely one-sided, but to some extent reciprocal. Acculturation is defined as a "process of developing one culture system out of two or more culture systems whose human representatives are in contact with each other." The Chinese in America are adopting both American cultural and personality traist, and they are more and more active participants in this "one culture" system. (2: 398-399)

III. CONTACT, COMPETITION, ACCOMMODATION, ASSIMILATION

> Nothing is ever done beautifully which is done in rivalship; or nobly, which is done in pride.
>
> -- Ruskin

Approximately a hundred years ago, California was an isolated outpost of Americana; therefore the immigration of large numbers of Chinese laborers was desirable to : (1) build railroads, (2) reclaim swamplands, (3) obtain ore from the "Golden Mountain," (4) farm, and (5) work in the manufacturing industry.

Upon the initial contact, in the mid-19th Century, the Chinese people were welcomed to the United States as a source of cheap labor.

> The social relationship between the Chinese, representing a minority group, and the Americans, representing a dominant group is derived from the social interactions between them. In general, social interaction under a favorable situation may lead to friendship, but under unfavorable situations may lead to conflict and hostility. . . ., a minority group, such as the Chinese, is welcomed by a majority group if the minority group meets the needs of the majority group at that particular time. (6:265-266)

(1) Railroads. The Chinese immigrants were important to building the railroads in California and in near-by states. For example, in 1867, the Central Pacific Railroad employed approximately 15,000 persons--12,000 were Chinese. (2:31)

The Chinese were also employed on the Southern Pacific Railroad as pick-and-shovel men, cooks, water carriers, mule drivers, and other non-skilled jobs.

(2) Swamplands. Swamplands in California were reclaimed through Chinese labor. Levees, ditches, dikes, and gates were built. Work in the swamplands was back-breaking, unsanitary, unhealthy, and undesirable. Yet, the Chinese exposed themselves to malaria (many contacted the ailment and died) in their quest for the economic goals to be gleaned in California. (2:32)

(3) Mining. In 1855, the Chinese comprised approximately 20% of the mining complement. By 1873, the Chinese contributed 60% to the mining count and were the largest single racial or national group of miners, Americans included. (2:33)

(4) Farming. In 1876, after the decline of affluent mining, agriculture became important to California and to the Chinese. For example, the

Sacramento orchard belt employed Chinese labor on a 1/125 ratio, Rice, tea, and sugar cane were introduced into California by the "green-thumb" Chinese. (2:34)

(5) Manufacturing. During the period of the "open shop" the California manufacturers hired Chinese laborers with vigor--the unionizing of manufacturing and other associate industries eliminated the Chinese--from competing for scarce jobs.

As stated in the preceding paragraphs, upon initial contact the Chinese, as a source of immediate cheap labor, were welcomed into America. On the other hand, when labor became plentiful and competition became rife for scarce jobs, and as industrialization and technologization became more advanced, anti-Chinese agitation and legislation became rampant.

COMPETITION

Competition between the whites and the yellows began when the whites moved into the mining industry and began to demand jobs--this brought about conflict and hostility which were a basis for racial discrimination and prejudice. (See Table 25)

> The prejudice or discrimination of a majority group towards a racial minority, such as the Chinese, often emerges because of the conflicting values between them. These conflicting values may be political, economic, ecological, or racial factors. (6:266)

TABLE 25

SELECTED OCCUPATIONS FOR THE CHINESE IN THE UNITED STATES: 1870 - 1920

Occupation	Year	Number of Chinese	Percentage Increase or Decrease
Miners and Laborers	1870	27,045	- 99.45
	1920	151	
Domestic Service Workers	1870	9,349	+ 280.00
	1920	26,440	
Traders and Dealers	1870	779	+ 960.00
	1920		

(6:267)

When the Chinese withdrew themselves from competition (involuntary segregation) through transferring from mining to domestic service (see preceding Table 25), they migrated to urban low-rent areas in the large cities and developed Chinese communities--Chinatowns." The Chinese communities, in order to survive in a highly literate environment, they (the Chinese, at this stage, were uneducated), had to perform domestic services for both whites and yellows as they had done in China. Historically, the primary immigrants set the stereo - type(s) for succeeding immigrants; such was the stage that was set for future Chinese, that of: (1) laundrymen, (2) cooks, (3) restaurant owners, (4) small curio shop owners, (5) produce distributors, (6) barbers, (7) hotel workers, and (8) other services of a personal nature.

ACCOMMODATION

Accommodation is a means of survival in a hostile environment.

> . . . , when a minority, such as the Chinese, has been discriminated against, it has no choice but to develop some means of defense. In general, it will develop the means voluntarily. (Accommodation). (6:266)

Upon the onslaught of the Irish miners, the formation of unions that were anti-Chinese, the herding into self-contained communities, and the physical violence that was dealt to the Chinese, they were forced into a minor and a passive role.

> Riots and assaults upon the Chinese people became so numerous that the Chinese were advised to keep off the streets and "out of the sight of Christian men, lest they be massacred in cold blood." (15:22)

> Among the favorite targets for arson and robbery were Chinese laundries. Great riots occurred in San Francisco in July, 1877. In the first, twenty-five Chinese laundries were burned. In November, 1878, Truckee, California, was in a state of anarchy and a thousand Chinese were driven away. (15:23)

> In the California State Legislature of 1879-80, the workingmen in coalition with the Grangers and Democrats passed a law making it a misdemeanor for a corporation to employ Chinese. The law was declared invalid because it violated the Burlingame Treaty and the 14th Amendment. (15:26)

The Chinese (strangers in a foreign land and subject to strong prejudices) were able to show accommodative survival through a strong "we-feeling." They were acutely awake that withdrawal may be viewed as a kind of self-defense against greater reprisals which might or could occur if competition were to continue.

> . . . , the adjustment (accommodation) of the Chinese has been primarily economic, and only secondarily, cultural. The withdrawal from compe-

> tition with organized labor has been one of the economic adjustments (accommodations). (6:267)

ASSIMILATION

Assimilation into the American life and community is not the goal of the Chinese, although much acculturation and transculturation has taken place. The Chinese as they live, in the main, in a state of voluntary segregation are delaying assimilation, although not curtailing it. Actually, the higher the legal, political, economic, and social barriers against assimilation , the longer the process of assimilation, in general, and the extreme chauninism of a group, such as the Chinese, that decries the emergent values of a "new ' country. Another retardent to assimilation is the prejudice that the Chinese show toward other minority groups.

> A revised Bogardus Social Distance Scale was used to measure the social distances between the Chinese, and four other minorities, namely: Jew, Italian, Puerto Rican, and Negro. It was found, in general, that the present-day Chinese students show the greatest amount of prejudice. The first-generation immigrants show the least prejudice; and in between there is the second generation. (6:271)

> The analyses suggest that the more frequently a member of a minority group interacts with members of the majority group, the stronger his prejudice towards other minorities is apt to be. (6:271)

Assimilation, although snail-like, is hastened through the "Americanization" of the younger generation. Also, as the tensions between Orientals and Occidentals lessen, as the anxieties between China and America decrease, and the gap between the traditional Chinese and the emergent Chinese becomes narrower, so will the facilitation of quasi assimilation. The term quasi assimilation is employed to indicate the complete assimilation, which necessitates a high percentage of nationalities intermarrying, is vigorously resisted by the Chinese, with any non-Chinese regardless of pigmentation. In other words:

> But complete assimilation is impossible until the resistance to intermarriage by both the majority and minority groups is removed. If the "color line" is crossed by interracial marriages, unequal treatment of a minority cannot be enforced. There are many ways to advocate intermarriage if improved race relations are desired. (6:273)

In retrospect, it can be pondered whether the contact, competition, accommodation, and assimilation of the Chinese-American would have been so frustrating, anxiety-provoking, threatening, and incomprehensible if:

1. More Chinese had accepted Christianity in place of their traditional Confucianism, Taoism, and/or Buddhism.

2. They had not looked upon America as only a temporary stop on the path to wealth.

3. They had demanded a wage that was nearer to the American norm.

4. The sojourners had not been held in a tight vice by the American immigration edicts.

5. The male-female balance had been more congruent, and

6. "The time had not been out of joint".

The Chinese happened to come, be, and desire to remain in America during a time of unrest, exploitation, technological advancement and experimentation, an economic hill and valley, and a powerful media, the newspaper, that was undergoing growing pains. All of the preceding six factors mitigated against the acceptance of another colored group, the Afro-Americans were also demanding acceptance into the mainstream of American society.

IV. CULTURE AND THE FAMILY *

> As are families, so is society. -- If well ordered, well instructed, and well governed, they are the springs from which go forth the streams of national greatness and prosperity--of civil order and public happiness.
>
> -- Thayer

Acculturation and transculturation are not static in an immigrant situation, that is to say, when two or more cultures converge, it is the nature of mankind to take on some of the artifacts and cultural norms of another culture. For example, it is a well-known fact that the Chinese are traditionally a family-oriented nationality, yet, after immigrating to America many of the family behavior patterns changed under the Occidental influence. Some of the cultural and family infringements are:

(1) The unequal sex ratio. In 1860, there were 33 Chinese men to 1 Chinese woman. (See Table 25) This unequal ratio contributed to:

- (a) The inclination of men to resort to vices (gambling, narcotics, and prostitute visiting) as a physiological outlet.
- (b) A high rate of bachelors up until after World War II.
- (c) Families in America were scarce, as the sojourners left their wives and children in China and aspired to "commute" on a five-ten year basis; yet, this did not constitute a broken home or family, in the American sense. The divided family fulfilled an important social function--the perpetuation of the family line.

(2) The United States Immigration Laws.

The Exclusion Act of 1882 forbade the laborers to bring their wives to America. The 1924 revision of immigration laws excluded all aliens ineligible to citizenship from entry, this included the alien wives of Chinese-American citizens. On June 13, 1930, the law was modified to permit the entry of the wives of American-Chinese citizens if the marriage had taken place before May 26, 1924. Thus, many families were forced to stay separated under these immigration laws.

The result of this law was that, in order to preserve his right of American citizenship, the child of an American-Chinese citizen had to leave China at the age of thirteen and reside with his father in America until he took

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* The material in this unit was abstracted from the excellent Doctoral Dissertation, "Changing Socio-Cultural Patterns of the Chinese Community in Los Angeles," by Chan Wen-Hui Chung Chen, Department of Sociology, the University of Southern California, 1952.

the oath of allegiance. (2:140)

(3) The Desire to Return to China.

America was only a temporary stopping place on the way to fortune for a large number of the immigrants. Since America was only a temporary home, the sojourners: (a) rejected Americanization, (b) bought no, or little, real estate, and (c) made few accommodative or assimilative proposals.

(4) The Growing Number of Families in America.

The Sino-Japanese War stimulated people to bring their families from China to join the breadearners in America. . . .

The 1947 Law permitted the entry of wives and children of American citizens, as did the 1945 War Brides Act. The large-scale admission of wives marked a new era of growth of Chinese families in America. Those who took advantage of the War Bride Act were Chinese-Americans who had served in the United States Armed Forces, during the war. They were American citizens either by birth or by military service. (2:143)

(5) The Communist Victory in China.

Many Chinese wanted to flee the Communist regime that was in effect in the early 1950's; as a result, this group (in addition to war brides and political refugees) further increased the number of Chinese families in America, and resulted in important social changes. The Communist doctrine differs drastically from the traditional Chinese folkway towards women and family--individual freedom in the choice of mate and freedom from "old family" obligations.

(6) Chinese Family as an Economic Unit.

In most cases, the Chinese family is still an economic unit. The nature of the Chinatown business pursuits is mainly responsible for this social phenomenon. . . Family participation may be observed in most of Chinatown stores today. Furthermore, all the Chinatown business is small in scale and profit is possible only by cutting the overhead. Consequently, the help of family members is always preferred to hired help. Finally, the old concept of family solidarity and cooperation between members is still evident. (2:148)

(7) Interracial Marriages. Chinese, like other Orientals frown on marriages with non-Chinese; this concept was given legal "support" from the Occidentals: For seventy-five years, California law forbade marriage between Chinese and white persons. It was not until October, 1948, that the California Supreme Court, declared unconstitutional this law. . . . In cases of inter-marriage mostly the Chinese men married women of other racial groups. The Chinese community in America has been

> predominantly male. . . . When a Chinese man takes a white wife, the cultural life and living standards of the home are generally very Americanized. (2:153-154)

(8) The Survival of Polygamy. "Absentee" husbands in America could/would not be content with visiting house of prostitution, concubinage (the traditional Chinese custom) was beyond the immigrant's means and availability, therefore, he often practiced polygamy--a wife in China and a wife in America.

(9) Divorce. Traditionally, divorce is still rare among the Chinese; there is a stigma on the divorced woman.

> . . . The traditional Chinese attitude toward marriage and the effectiveness of primary-group control also contribute to family solidarity and lower the rate of divorce. However, among the American-born and American-reared Chinese, the attitudes toward family and marriage are going to be more like those of the American people and the divorce rate will probably increase in the future. (2:160)

(10) Marriage. Presently, in America, weddings are a blend of East and West. The West is represented through flowers, bridal veil, the ring, joining hands, bridesmaids, and the father giving away the bride. The East is represented through inviting the whole family, adopting the Americanized color (white for marriage ceremonies) under protest, gifts and wedding cakes from the groom's family to the bride's family and elaborate feasting, a long wedding program, the father of the groom bears the wedding expenses, and "miao-chien"--the initiating of the bride into the ancestral hall.

(11) Funerals. Culturally, the Chinese discouraged emotive expressions of excitement, joy, or happiness, yet, they were exorted to show sadness at funerals. . . . The Chinese prefer big funerals. In China, professional pall bearers are employed; in America, the Chinese are beginning to use close friends of the deceased as pallbearers--an example of transculturation.

(12) Sexual Behavior. Traditionally, the Chinese followed a double moral standard--asceticism for the female and eroticism for the male. While both cultures are averse to actual erotic sexual behavior in public, the Chinese carry the taboo to extremes (beyond the Americans) that encompass sexual avoidance or separation, beyond adolescence. Neither husband and wife nor parents and juveniles, traditionally, are inclined to demonstrate physical contact, in front of a third person.

The young mate-seeking Chinese has to operate within the "minute" marriage circle that is impinged on by both the Occidental and the Oriental cultures. For example: (a) dating, although less parent-supervised, is heavily parent-controlled, (b) "nice" girls do not let boys get "fresh," (c) the dating of a number of boys, at the same time, is considered "cheap," and (d) girls must learn to play the "dating game," without losing their "values."

As previously stated, the traditional-oriented Chinese are non-physical demonstrative--both the male and the parent physical distance is observed. Also, as previously state, the emergent-oriented Chinese are impinged on by their tradition-devoted forefathers and the emergent-prone "American way."

V. HOUSING

> The strength of a nation, especially of a Republican nation,
> is in the intelligent and well-ordered homes of the people.
> -- Lydia H. Sigourney

> The Chinese population in the United States has exhibited a tendency to concentrate in segregated communities within the large cities. San Francisco's Chinatown ranks first numerically, that of New York City is second, and that of Los Angeles is third. There are no Chinatowns to be found in cities under 50,000 population, nor are there Chinatowns in states, having fewer than 250 Chinese. (6:263)
>
> . . . Due to the shift in their business to restaurant, laundry, and gift shop ownership, the Chinese have become urbanized, . . . a Chinatown flourishes only where large cosmopolitan populations desire "something different."
>
> It is said that a minority group voluntarily isolates itself in order to avoid insults. The Chinese moved from rural to urban areas where there was great hostility towards them because of competition. (6:268)

The housing conditions in the old Chinatown areas were old-fashioned, unsanitary, and over-crowded.

> Relatives like to live together. Under an unfriendly and uncertain situation, relatives live together for mutual help. (6:269)

In Los Angeles, for example, the main part of Old Chinatown was torn down to make an area for the Los Angeles Union Station. Yet, the majority of the Chinese still live on the East side of Los Angeles, not too far from "Chinatown.' The residential locale is due more to residential restrictions from the city proper than to gregariety.

Recently, 1950-1960, the Chinese, already overwhelmingly concentrated in cities and towns in 1950 (94 per cent in urban areas), made a further shift (to 96 per cent) in 1960. The largest group of Chinese residents, 55 per cent, was in the San Francisco-Oakland Metropolitan Area. Twenty-one per cent were housed in the Los Angeles-Long Beach Metropolitan Area. (Table 3)

The present reporter has often postulated that, all things being equal, housing is more social than economic; this proposition is supported in the Chinese culture.

> The poor Chinese laborers live like the poor whites and Negroes, but there is a group of middle-class Chinese who have a different set of social values from the middle-class whites or the Americanized Chinese. They are not so much concerned about the ecological location of their housing.

> They choose to live in the East Side deteriorated areas and save their money in the bank or turn it into productive capital. . . .
>
> Most of the families who live near Ninth and San Pedro Streets made very good money in the produce business in the war years. It is safe to say that quite a few of them have about twenty-thousand dollars in the bank and a good business on the side, but they still choose to live here just to be close to their work and save their money for future retirement in China (before the Community problem). In the same financial situation, a white man would buy a thirty-thousand-dollar home. (2:125, 126)

In the total Chinese community, the housing is American in styles, accouterments, room arrangements, appliances employed, and other artifacts.

> The first generation, the second generation, and the present-day students were asked to rate the degree of acceptance of the Chinese by the majority group in six areas, namely, work, school, politics, housing, public affairs, and social activities. The results reveal that the Chinese are accepted partially in work and in housing, (underscore added) and are less accepted in public affairs and social activities. (6:272)

On May 3, 1948, the United States Supreme Court declared that the restrictive racial covenants are valid but not enforceable in the state court. Before 1948, the Chinese would rush to any district which admitted Orientals and excluded Negroes. Since 1948, many Chinese families have moved into areas of West Los Angeles, (Hollywood, Westwood, Culver City, and Beverly Hills) that previously was closed to them, either overtly or covertly.

Presently, in 1969, many areas, particularly in the esoteric suburban settlements, there is resistance (mostly covert) to Chinese occupation. It is prognosticated that "open housing" will not become an actuality until the dominant "but not next door" whites are ready to give up its "this is our America" and accept the doctrine of full equality in housing. At present the American people, including the "coloreds," have conflicting values regarding restrictive areas, both overt and covert. Again, the present writer propounds that, all things being equal, housing is more social than economic.

VI. EMPLOYMENT *

> Occupation is one great source of enjoyment. No man, properly occupied, was ever miserable.
>
> -- L. E. Landon

An immigrant group, such as the Chinese, has to make an occupational adjustment in the new country, in order to exist. The first adjustment of the Chinese was to realize, admit, and accept the status of unskilled laborer. The unskilled jobs that were open were mining, railroading, farming, and servicing the personal needs of the Anglos.

Many jobs in an industrial-oriented society are primary; jobs in mining and railroading are primary--once the metal is withdrawn or the railroad tracks laid, the jobs end. The early Chinese immigrants found that primary employment must be succeeded by more permanent work in farming and industrial work. They also found that as their numbers increased and jobs decreased, proportionately, that the unions and many other income-producing vocations did not want them as competitors, therefore the Chinese took a drastic step toward accommodation--they dispersed and withdrew from competition. The withdrawal meant concentration in certain occupations where the white people did not want to work. The main service occupations were in laundries, restaurants, stores (in their own community), and curio shops. Recently, however, (1950-1960) there has been a gradual movement away from unskilled labor and toward highly skilled occupations.

Industry Distribution. In 1960, the largest proportion of Chinese, 39 per cent, worked in wholesale and retail trade. Manufacturing industries accounted for the second largest group--16 per cent. During this time period (1950-1960) the Chinese were distributed in trade: (1) Los Angeles-Long Beach, 39 per cent, (2) San Francisco-Oakland, 35 per cent, and (3) Sacramento, 40 per cent. (Table 26)

Occupation. The Chinese is primarily an urban dweller; this is reflected through their occupational stratification: (1) Twenty-one per cent of the Chinese men worked in service occupations except household, (2) fourteen per cent were employed in managerial and proprietorship jobs, (3) seventeen per cent were in professional and technical jobs.

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*The tables employed in this unit were taken from Californians of Japanese, Chinese, Filipino Ancestry. Department of Industrial Relations, Division of Fair Employment Practices, San Francisco, 1965.

The data leaned heavily on Wen-Hui Chung Chen's, Changing Socio-Cultural Patterns of the Chinese Community in Los Angeles. Doctoral Dissertation, The Department of Sociology, The University of Southern California, 1952.

TABLE 26

INDUSTRY DISTRIBUTION OF EMPLOYED PERSONS 14 YEARS & OVER

Percentage Distribution

Metropolitan area and industry	White	Japanese	Chinese	Filipino	Other nonwhite
Los Angeles-Long Beach					
Total employed (14 yrs. & over)	2,390,727	37,635	8,266	5,474	173,394
Total per cent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Agriculture, forestry, fisheries	1.2	18.8	0.7	5.4	0.6
Mining	0.4	a	a	0.1	a
Construction	5.6	1.8	1.4	1.4	5.1
Manufacturing	31.4	21.7	18.0	26.7	21.4
Transportation, communication, and other public utilities	6.3	3.3	2.7	3.0	6.1
Wholesale and retail trade	19.0	21.6	38.0	25.9	12.4
Finance, insurance, and real estate	5.6	4.7	4.6	4.2	2.2
Business and repair services	3.9	3.7	2.4	1.4	4.0
Personal services	4.3	6.9	8.0	8.0	15.5
Entertainment and recreation services	2.0	0.5	1.0	2.8	1.1
Professional and related services	11.6	9.8	13.2	11.5	12.0
Public administration	4.0	3.4	4.4	4.4	8.6
Industry not reported	4.7	3.8	5.6	5.2	11.0
San Francisco-Oakland					
Total employed (14 yrs. & over)	956,049	11,050	22,732	8,166	78,005
Total per cent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Agriculture, forestry, fisheries	1.3	14.1	1.3	5.8	0.6
Mining	0.2	a	a	--	a
Construction	5.7	1.3	2.3	1.2	7.0
Manufacturing	21.8	9.4	17.4	13.5	14.3
Transportation, communication, and other public utilities	9.2	5.0	4.4	10.3	9.1
Wholesale and retail trade	19.6	16.7	34.7	17.4	8.8
Finance, insurance, and real estate	7.1	5.3	5.3	4.8	2.0
Business and repair services	3.7	2.9	1.7	1.2	2.4
Personal services	4.7	19.6	8.9	12.1	18.2
Entertainment and recreation services	1.1	0.6	0.7	2.3	0.8
Professional and related services	14.1	14.6	9.3	11.8	13.2
Public administration	6.6	7.0	8.1	10.9	13.3
Industry not reported	4.9	3.5	5.9	8.7	10.3

[a] Less than .05 of 1 per cent.

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census. Based on a 25 per cent sample of population.

The Chinese women worked more outside the home than did the Oriental women: (1) Forty-seven per cent, Chinese, (2) forty-six per cent Japanese, and (3) thirty-five per cent Filipino. In addition, approximately thirty-three per cent of the Chinese women were clerical workers and twenty-six per cent were operatives and kindred workers. (Table 27)

Unemployment. In 1960, unemployment rates for Chinese men and women were lower than for Japanese and Anglos. Chinese men had an unemployment rate of 4.9 eper cent, and women 5.1 per cent. (Table 28)

Income. In 1959, Chinese men had a median income of $3,803.00, Chinese women earned $1,997.00. One third of the Chinese men, 25 years old and over, earned less than $3,000.00. Table 29)

The preceding percentages attest to the progress of the Chinese from their "traditional" businesses:

(1) Laundry. Women were scarce in the early mining towns; so, Chinese men were able to earn a good living through personal services. Other reasons for opening laundries were: (a) business ownership was an index of upward mobility, (b) small initial money investment, (c) living quarters and businesses at the same place (one rent cost), (d) the owner could travel to China (a real status symbol) while a "brother" ran the business, and (e) the business required a minimum of English understanding and usage.

(2) Restaurant. In a womanless environment there was still a need for food preparation. The Chinese opened hotels and eating places to provide for the physiological needs of both Occidental and Oriental residents. Again, as in the laundry business, prestige, small investment, living quarters, and travel privileges accounted for business entry. Yet, Chinese restaurants have exploded beyond "Chinatown", as a consequence, there are very few large neighborhoods or communities that do not have a Chinese restaurant.

(3) Truck Gardening. Before the Chinese came to the Los Angeles area, many vegetables such as celery, cauliflower, and cabbage had to be imported from Northern California.

> The Oriental, though pestered by envious workmen, finally made a success of the industry, helping to establish what is now a most important local agriculture activity. As late as 1911, Leimert Park, now a carefully planned residental district near Crenshaw and Santa Barbara was a huge Chinese garden, where a heaping lug box of tomatoes could be bought for five cents. (2:344)

(4) Vegetable Peddling.
(5) Produce Business
(6) Grocery Stores
(7) Curio Stores
(8) Herb Stores.

TABLE 27

OCCUPATION OF EMPLOYED WOMEN 14 YEARS OLD AND OVER

California, 1960

Occupational group	Number of women					Per cent of state total				
	White	Japanese	Chinese	Filipino	Other nonwhite	White	Jap.	Chin.	Fili.	Othernon white
Employed, 14 yrs. and over	1,740,489	25,000	11,709	3,942	1,20,813	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Professional, technical & kindred workers	251,848	2,582	1,297	504	9,214	14.5	10.1	11.1	12.8	7.6
Farmers and farmmanagers	4,410	816	33	24	44	0.3	3.2	0.3	0.6	a
Managers, officials, and proprietors, except farm	89,786	713	523	68	1,652	5.2	2.8	4.5	1.7	1.4
Clerical & kindred workers	635,552	8,317	3,939	1,216	17,408	36.5	32.3	33.5	30.9	14.4
Sales workers	148,383	1,126	992	143	3,191	8.5	4.4	8.5	3.6	1.8
Craftsmen, foremen and kindred workers	21,588	225	97	16	1,183	1.2	0.9	0.8	0.4	1.0
Operatives & kindred workers	195,533	4,221	3,024	647	17,604	11.2	16.4	25.8	16.4	14.6
Private household workers	80,559	2,968	185	133	32,120	4.6	11.6	1.6	3.4	26.5
Service workers, except private household	200,725	1,750	792	663	24,735	11.5	6.8	6.8	16.8	20.5
Farm workers and foremen	10,568	1,785	89	194	549	0.6	7.0	0.8	4.9	0.5
Laborers, except farm & mine	6,433	228	32	6	1,283	0.4	0.9	0.3	0.2	1.1
Occupation not reported	95,104	934	706	328	12,830	5.5	3.6	6.0	8.3	10.6

[a] Less than .05 of 1 per cent.

Source: U.S. Census Bureau. Based on a 25-per cent sample of population.

TABLE 28

UNEMPLOYMENT RATES, BY AGE AND SEX

White, Japanese, Chinese, Filipino, and Other Nonwhite Persons
California, 1960
(Unemployed persons as a per cent of civilian labor force, persons 14 years old and over)

Age	Male				
	White	Japanese	Chinese	Filipino	Other nonwhite
Total, 14 yrs. & over MALE	5.5	2.6	4.9	7.8	12.7
14 - 19 years	12.2	9.6	11.6	21.4	26.3
20 - 24 years	8.1	3.9	7.2	18.7	18.8
25 - 34 years	4.3	2.4	3.2	6.0	12.1
35 - 44 years	3.8	1.7	3.0	5.2	10.1
45 - 64 years	5.7	2.3	5.9	6.5	11.3
65 years old and over	7.9	3.8	11.8	14.9	13.4
	Female				
Total, 14 yrs. & over FEMALE	6.3	3.1	5.1	13.6	11.4
14 - 19 years	10.6	7.5	7.0	11.1	24.6
20 - 24 years	7.6	2.3	5.8	15.8	19.0
25 - 34 years	6.4	3.4	3.1	12.6	12.2
35 - 44 years	5.7	2.9	4.0	13.6	9.6
45 - 65 years	5.4	2.3	7.5	15.1	7.9
65 years old and over	5.4	3.8	10.5	---	7.9

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census. Based on a 25 per cent sample of population.

TABLE 29

ANNUAL INCOME IN 1959 OF MEN 25 YEARS OLD AND OVER

Annual income, 1959	White		Non-white: Japanese		Non-white: Chinese		Non-white: Filipino		Non-white: Other non-white	
Men 25 years old and over with income	3,887,502		43,467		29,069		26,431		216,033	
Per cent with annual income of--	%	Cumulative %	%	Cumulative %	%	Cumulative %	%	Cumulative %	%	Cumulative %
Total	100.0		100.0		100.0		100.0		100.0	
$1-$999 or less	5.5	5.5	7.4	7.4	9.2	9.2	9.2	9.2	10.0	10.0
$1,000-1,999	8.6	14.1	9.1	16.5	12.0	21.2	18.4	27.6	12.4	22.4
$2,000-2,999	7.0	21.1	9.6	26.1	12.4	33.6	20.4	48.0	12.4	34.8
$3,000-3,999	8.3	29.4	12.2	38.3	14.4	48.0	18.1	66.1	16.9	51.7
$4,000-4,999	11.0	40.4	14.6	52.9	13.6	61.6	13.1	79.2	19.4	71.1
$5,000-5,999	14.4	54.8	14.8	67.7	1.7	73.3	10.3	89.5	15.3	86.4
$6,000-6,999	13.5	68.3	10.3	78.0	9.5	82.8	5.4	94.9	7.2	93.6
$7,000-7,999 $8,000-8,999 $9,000-9,999	[a]19.6	[a]87.9	4.1	89.7	3.1	91.2	1.3	98.6	[a]5.1	[a]98.7
$10,000 & over	100.0	100.0	7.7	100.0	6.8	100.0	1.0	100.0	1.3	100.0

[a] $7,00-$9,999.

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Based on a 25-per cent sample of the popula-population.

Such businesses have their strong and weak points. Some strongs points were/are:

(a) They were the only means of livelihood available to the early immigrants.
(b) They supported Chinese individuals as well as Chinese community organizations.
(c) They made it possible for maintaining a Chinese ethos.
(d) They made it possible for Chinatown to have a measure of independence from the Occidental "power" structure.

Some weak points of Chinese businesses were/are:

(a) Acculturation was retarded.
(b) Transculturation was minimal.
(c) Horizontal and vertical mobility, even within its own community, was extremely limited.

The preceding "new" and "old" Chinese occupational stratifications showed: First, how the Chinese have accommodated themselves in the United States. Second, was shown how the changing relationships and social situations between the Occidental and the Oriental groups have negatively affected the acculturation, transculturation, and assimilation of the Oriental into the mainstream of the United States of America.

VII. RELIGION

> True religion teaches us to reverence what is under us, to recognize humility, poverty, wretchedness, suffering, and death, as things divine.
>
> -- Goethe

The underlying ideas which guide the Chinese in the course of his life today are the products of 3000 years of continuous development of popular beliefs and superstititions, many and varying schools of philosophy, and the adoption and adaptation of foreign religious systems. This is, of course, also true of an American or a European; but the differences between them and the Chinese should be noted.

The intellectual heritage of the Occidental is largely European with a certain amount of Near Eastern thought included, while, aside from a few similarities based on contact with the Near East, the ingredients of the Chinese mind are characteristically Asiatic. Furthermore, whereas theEuropean preoccupation with industry and science has in recent times served to divert attention from the past to the present and future so that much of the traditional background is forgotten, the lack of any such movement in China, or, at least, the very slight extent to which it has affected the Chinese, as a whole, has permitted a vastly greater proportion of the ideas of antiquity to remain in the minds of the people. This fact, more than any other, accounts for the essential continuity of Chinese culture during its 3000 years of history, and for the ability of China to carry on and survive.

The earliest records indicate that the people of Shang (14th-12th Century B. C.) had no supreme god, that they worshiped their ancestors and consulted them by means of divination, and that they accepted and followed the advice thus received from their honored dead. When the Western people of Chou overcame the Shangs, they brought new beliefs with them, principal belief in an all-powerful, all-seeing god who protected the just and punished the evil. This new idea combined with the old, provided a set of beliefs which included devotion to a supreme god and to lesser gods of nature, Sun, Moon, Mountains, Rivers, and so forth--as well as to deified ancestors who were the culture heroes of the race, the founders of agriculture, spinning, weaving, pottery making, irrigation, and flood control.

Divination played an increasingly important part. In the writing of the questions and interpretation of the answers lay the beginnings of literary activity; the diviners had to keep written records of their work, and the accurate recording of this material called for chronological precision. Their works were, in effect, the earliest historical writings, and the fact that they were primarily concerned with the advice of deceased ancestors required a close study of genealogy. Thus the priests who conducted these activities were at the same time historians, genealogists, keepers of the calendar, and astrologers, while in the latter capacity, as interpreters of supernatural sources of information, they were advisers to the government whose influence must have been decisive. This whole body of thought--belief in a supreme god, in lesser gods, in defied ancestors, and in the importance of divination--may be considered the basis of the native Chinese religion, a religion which Dr. Hu Shih has aptly called Siniticism.

Confucianism. Confucianism is looked upon as one of the greatest religions of the world. Confucious, the founder, was born in five hundred and fifty, B. C. Confucious, Mo-Tzu, Mencius, Hsun-tzu, and Han Fei-tzu are the leading names of the Confucian school Though their views were often diametrically opposed, all were concerned with putting the conduct of the state on a human basis; that is, they believed that sound government depended upon the proper adjustment of relations between men (it was in the method of this adjustment that they differed sharply) rather than upon superstitious belief. Confucious, in his day lamented the disorders of this time and condemned the disloyalty of the feudal lords who belonged to the house of Chou. For centuries Confusianism has been the state religion of China. In 1904, one provision of the school law that received adverse comment by Americans and Europeans, was the requirement that Confucious should be worshipped in the schools. Every country has a temple erected to the sage, where at stated times offerings were made to his spirit and those of his disciples. The scholars and temple officials of the district assembled at the equinoxes to engage in this worship.

The service consisted in chanting a pean in praise and bowing together before the shrine. The worship was led by the highest civil official and he was accompanied by an orchestra. The writings of Confucious are among the classical literatures of China. In many ways these teachings are similar to those of Christ. A quotation from the Analecs of Confucious will illustrate this: "the King asked saying: Is there any one word that will serve as a guide throughout life? The Master replied: Is not reciprocity such a word? What you do not want done to yourself, that do not to others."

Taoism. Another school, which came to be known as Taoism, originated in the rather simple back-to-nature movement of a man known as Lao-tzu (the Old Master) who taught that man should follow the dictates of nature, at the same time avoiding all conflict. His follower Chuang-tzu interpreted him in highly mystical terms; and, before long, the practice of Taoism included everything from extreme asceticism to ecstatic orgies, magic, witchcraft, alcheny, and the search for an elixir of immortality. Taoism influence even though it was not as strong as the other religions was not influenced by them. The fundamental grounds of the Taoist are metaphysical. At the present time in China, Confucianism, Taoism, and Buddhism have become subject to questions of orthodoxy and heresy.

Buddhism. Another Chinese religion was Buddhism, which was imported from its native India about the time of Christ and in the next three centuries spread rapidly on Chinese soil. In many ways the doctrine of Buddhism was fundamentally opposed to Chinese ways of thought. It taught celibacy, which conflicted with Confucian insistence on the sanctity of the family and the importance of abundant posterity. Its asceticism was carried to the extent of mutilation of the body and even complete self-destruction, in contrast with the Confucian view that the body is a sacred inheritance from the parents, to be cherished and preserved at all cost. It advocated begging for its monks. It was the most elaborate and splendid religious system the Chinese had ever seen. It provided punishments for evil and rewards for goodness in the shape of fearsome hells and magnificent paradises that gave the Chinese hitherto unimagined glimpses of a life after death. Today, it is the most popular of all religions in China. It is often referred to as being animistic in spirit which means that it has been influenced by Christian teachings.

Christianity. Confucianism, Taoism, and Buddhism are the three recognized religions of China which are tolerant to other faiths. Christianity claims to be the only true religion and calls upon the people everywhere to abandon all creeds and become Christians. It attacks the idilatry of the Buddhists and the Taoists, and the ancestor worship of the Confucianists. It makes no compromise with other religions. Consequently, it at once creates a feeling of hostility in the hearts of the adherents of other creeds, and tends to produce division and strife. After thought is given to the religious background of a country such as China it is easy to appreciate something of what Christ meant when he said: "I came not to send peace but a sword. For I came to get man at variance against his father and the daughter against her mother, and the daughter against her mother-in-law."

A potent cause for hostility has been the intervention of foreign governments for the encouragement of Christan propaganda and the protection of missionaries by displaying of military force. Christianity is the religion of most of the countries that have seized portions of the Chinese territory and forced China to least important lands.

Christianity has suffered, too, in China from the multitude of different sects represented there. A question in the mind of many of the Chinese is, "Can Christianity, which caused and supported so many wars in Western History and is minutely divided in its own household, be a factor to help China in her life and death struggle for national unity?"

> With this background of the religious life in China, we can better understand what the Chinest student means when he asserts that often they have Ancestor Worship in the morning, and to a Buddhist Temple in the afternoon. They come to our campus with a varied and rich religious background. They know about all these different religions while we, as American students, know little about more than our own religion. One of the criticisms the Chinese make about American students is that they are so indifferent to religion. Table 30 shows the religious groups to which the parents belong. (1:98)
>
> The students here are of the same religious groups as they were in China with two exceptions. . . . Table 31 shows the religious groups to which Chinese students belonged in China. (1:98)
>
> Christianity is real and vital to the Chinese students upon our campus. In

TABLE 30

RELIGIOUS GROUPS OF CHINESE PARENTS

Groups	Frequency
Confucianism	11
Buddhism	11
Taoism	6
Christianity	8
Free Thinkers	3

Note: This table should be read as follows: Eleven of the parents of the Chinest students belong to the Confucianist group, etc.

TABLE 31

RELIGIOUS GROUPS BELONGED TO IN CHINA

Groups	Frequency
Christian	18
Buddhist	2
Confucianist	3
Taoist	1
None	2

Note: This table should be read as follows: Eighteen of the Chinese students belonged to Christian groups in China, etc.

TABLE 32

RELIGIOUS GROUPS BELONGED TO IN AMERICA

Groups	Frequency
Christian	18
Buddhism	3
Confucianism	3
Taoism	1
None	1

Note: This table should be read as follows: Eighteen of the twenty-six Chinese interviewed belong to the Christian groups, three belong to the Buddhist group, etc.

In fact, it is so vital that even though they have been disappointed many times in Christianity in America, it has not discouraged them. Table 32 shows that only two changes were made in the religious groups to which the Chinese belonged in China and those to which they belong in America. (1:101)

It is observable (Table 32) that there was a change from none (2-1) to Buddhist (2-3). The change showed that the students, although exposed and influenced, did not deter from their Oriental religious enculturations.

The Chinese students were critical of the professed piety of Christian leaders--the leaders did not follow their own precepts. They also feel that the Christian church is too materialistic, ornate, social-minded, demands too little of its followers, too competitive, and often a place to show off personal grandeur.

The Chinese students, who are Christians, are most devout and might be classified along with the very finest Christians in America. The Chinese who come from third generation Christian families are proud of their Christian heritage.

VIII. EDUCATION AND DROPOUT *

> The problem of education is twofold: First to know, and then to utter. Everyone who lives any semblance of an inner life thinks more nobly and profoundly than he speaks.
>
> -- R. L. Stevenson

Persons of Chinese ancestry in American can be generally divided into three groups: The sojourners, the Chinese-Americans, and the visiting scholars. (15:38)

Historically, when the first Chinese laborers began to arrive in the early 1850's, the first group of Chinese students also came. Since that time it is estimated that about 22,000 visiting Chinese scholars, mostly men, have come to America. Providently, the Exclusion Act of 1882, and the National Origins Act of 1924, did not exclude visiting scholars who had no intention of becoming citizens or staying in America. Beneficially, after 1900 the status of a western education, in China, became very high.

World War II made a significant difference: until World War II most of the students returned to China; after World War II many students have remained.

The early Chinese students put emphasis on agriculture, engineering, life--natural sciences--these subjects were needed, sorely, in pre-Communist China. The early Chinese comprised the second largest group of foreign students (Canada was highest). Their preferences were "Ivy League," "Big Ten," Stanford, and the Universities of California and Washington.

Post-World War II Chinese students were recipients of support from:

1. United States Technical Assistance Program.
2. The Nationalist Government.
3. American universities.
4. Emergency Aid Program of the Economic Co-operation Administration.

The fall of mainland China, in the 1950's, to the Communists stranded thousands of Chinese students. Shorn of their potentials of high status in China they were forced to take inferior positions, suffer the shame of working for the

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* The major source for the summary of this unit was Flora Adams' Chinese Student Life at the University of Southern California. Master's Thesis, School of Education. The University of Southern California, 1935. Despite the years of difference (1935-1969) it was theorized that students' lives are not significantly different; that present-day tables will bring the percentages up to date, and that prices are adjustable on a year to year basis.

less-educated sojourners and American-born Chinese, overcome the Cantonese (students spoke the Mandarin of Peking) language differences, and endure being supported by condescending American kinsmen.

The Chinese students held themselves aloof from Chinatown and its denotations and connotations; they felt that involvements would damage their image of intellectualism and enlightenment.

Today, (1969) more than half of the 237,292 Chinese are American-born. Most of them are second and third-generation Chinese. Until the Sino-Japanese War in the 1930's, many of the American-born Chinese children were sent to China during their teens.

> When they returned after completing high school, they found that they had not sufficient education in either Chinese or English to do anything except to continue in the business in which their parents were. . . . Their children, the third generation, received all of their education in America and had become American except for their physical appearance and perhaps some Chinese attitudes regarding respect for elders. Those who were brought up in Chinatown have probably been completely Americanized. (15:45)

Educational frustration due to pluralism has been the fate of the second-generation Chinese; they were born in American "Chinatowns" and educated in China.

> These people, however, have been the bridge which has joined China and America. Although neither sojourner nor American, their orientation for their children has been clear. They have resolved that the American-born would be educated completely in America, but also that they should know how to speak Chinese as well as English, and become acquainted with Chinese customs. (15:45)

The preceding references to maintaining the Chinese customs is an area of conflict; the Chinese-American children see the Chinese language schools as "old world," retrogressive, and hindering their rapid acculturation and transculturation into Americana.

> In 1960: The educational picture for the Chinese was one of extremes; a relatively high proportion of both men and women had completed at least one year of college, but approximately 40 per cent of both Chinese men and women had not gone beyond eighth grade. Many of these (16 per cent o of the men and 19 per cent of the women) were reported as having had no schooling at all. (Tables 33 and 34)

The preceding educational extreme is a paradox: Chinese males have both the highest level of education and the highest with no education, also. Chinese women are second highest in education (Filipino women are highest) and the highest with no education. (Tables 34 and 35)

TABLE 33

SCHOOL LEVEL COMPLETED BY PERSONS 14 YEARS OLD AND OVER, BY SEX, CALIFORNIA 1960

School level completed	White		Japanese		Chinese		Filipino		Other nonwhite	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
	Percentages									
Total population, 14 years old & over	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
None	1.6	1.3	2.6	2.9	15.8	18.7	7.8	2.3	2.0	1.5
Elementary										
Grades 1-4	3.4	2.6	2.1	2.2	6.9	5.8	16.8	7.0	7.6	5.7
Grades 5-6	4.0	3.6	2.5	3.2	6.6	5.4	10.5	6.6	8.3	7.6
Grade 7	4.5	3.6	1.8	1.4	3.3	2.0	7.8	5.0	6.9	6.6
Grade 8	13.7	13.3	10.5	10.4	8.2	6.8	10.2	9.7	13.0	13.0
High school										
Grades 9-11	24.3	24.5	17.4	16.0	13.9	13.2	18.1	23.2	28.7	29.0
Grade 12	24.4	31.5	34.3	43.3	16.1	24.9	15.4	21.9	20.6	23.1
College										
1-3 years	13.4	13.0	16.9	14.9	15.9	14.3	9.5	14.1	9.4	10.0
4 or more years	10.7	6.6	11.9	5.7	13.3	8.9	3.9	9.2	3.5	3.4

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census. Based on a 25-per cent sample of the population.

TABLE 34

EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT FOR VARIOUS ETHNIC GROUPS

Educational attainment	Per cent of population 14 years old and over	
	Male	Female
Not having gone beyond 8th grade:		
Filipino	53.1	3-.6
Spanish surname	51.5	48.0
Chinese	40.8	38.7
Negro	37.9	34.0
White (including Spanish surname)	27.2	24.4
Japanese	19.5	20.1
Having completed one or more years of high school		
Filipino	46.9	69.4
Spanish surname	48.5	52.0
Chinese	59.2	61.3
Negro	62.1	66.0
White (including Spanish surname)	72.8	75.6
Japanese	80.5	79.9
Having completed one or more years of college		
Spanish surname	8.8	6.2
Negro	12.7	13.6
Filipino	13.4	24.3
White (including Spanish surname)	24.1	19.6
Japanese	28.8	20.6
Chinese	29.2	23.2

Perhaps an answer lies with whether the male parent is a sojourner (from the villages of China), an Americanized Chinese, or merely one with an eye toward the future occupational status of his offspring.

> Until World War II, Chinese girls were usually discouraged from going to college, even state and city-supported institutions. The dream of the sojourner was that his son would eventually take over his established business and remit moneys to China when he retired there. Of course, there were exceptions, forward-looking parents who encouraged their children to enter the professions. In such cases, medicine was usually preferred and after that law and engineering. (15:134)

The term dropout, as applied operationally to the Japanese, is also best reworded to educational mortality, when speaking of the Chinese, also. (Table 25)

TABLE 35

EDUCATIONAL MORTALITY OF CHINESE STUDENTS

Chinese Males		Chinese Females	
16.1		24.9	
13.9		13.2	
4.2	Retention in-through high school	11.7	Retention in-through high school
16.1		24.9	
15.9		14.3	
.2	Less in-through 1-3 years college	10.6	Loss in-through 1-3 years college
15.9		14.3	
13.3		8.9	
2.6	Loss in-through 4+ years college	5.4	Loss in-through 4+ years college

Compiled from data of Table 4.

SUMMARY

I. TYPES OF CHINESE STUDENTS

1. The types of Chinese Students are varied since they come from such a varied background in China.

2. The age of Chinese Students ranges from one who is twenty-one to one who is thirty-five.

3. All the Chinese Students have remained in America without returning to China for a visit since they came, with one exception. This one visited one month in China after he graduated from high school. Two have completed their education and returned.

4. The length of residence varies from one who has been here thirteen years (most of his education having been received here in America) to one who has been here eight months.

5. Twenty-four of the twenty-six Chinese upon our campus are of Chinese birth.

6. None of the students interviewed are of American birth. The American born do not seek higher education.

7. Two of the students are American citizenshaving been born in the United States territory of Hawaii.

8. The Chinese came to the University of Southern California because the climate in Southern California is so ideal, the living expenses are less, travel from China to the University of Southern California is cheaper than it would be to Columbia University, New York, there are some other Chinese here, the spirit of goodwill that the University expresses, friends have also influenced them in coming.

9. The Chinese are registered in every year of college work offered from the freshman year to the year in which they receive doctors' degrees.

10. They are registered in various colleges as their interests differ. The colleges are: Education, Medicine, Commerce, Speech, Pharmacy, Architecture, Engineering and Letters, Arts and Sciences.

II. ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

1. The students obtain their money for tuition from parents, scholarships, money earned in China, work being done now.

2. The cost of room for the Chinese ranges from eight dollars a month to fifteen dollars a month. Two of them work for their room.

3. The cost of board varies just as the costs of room did. The cost ranges from thirty dollars to twelve collars a month.

4. The amount of money used for incidental expenses for the Chinese ranges from five dollars used by nine to forty-five dollars used by one.

5. The Chinese students obtain their money from several sources. From their parents, friends, or self-support.

6. The Chinese live in different types of places while they are attending the University. They live with Chinese families, Chinese groups, private rooms, own home, cottages, and hotels.

III. SOCIAL, CULTURAL AND RECREATIONAL ACTIVITIES

1. Social activities include dances, parties, and shows.

2. The cultural activities of the Chinese include their attendance at concerts, operas, lectures and forums.

3. The Chinese have participated in other activities which are not included in either social or cultural as: professional fraternities, sororities, and campus clubs.

4. There are few recreational activities which the Chinese participate in here at the University. They enjoy tennis, walking, swimming, and basketball.

IV. OCCUPATIONAL OBJECTIVES

1. Some of these students have worked in China and have come here to train themselves more completely for their work.

2. The fields for which the Chinese are training are: education, government administration, hotel management, journalism, medicine, architecture, manufacturing, commerce and transportation.

3. In order to understand the educational background from which the Chinese come a review was made of the education through the past few centuries.

4. The students come from ten universities and colleges in China.

5. Those preparing to enter the field of government service feel that they have a real opportunity in helping in China's development.

6. Those not entering education or government work are entering the fields of hotel management, journalism, medicine, business, dramatics, architecture, or manufacturing.

7. The immigration laws are a distinct barrier to peaceful relationships with the Chinese. The Chinese will not be satisfied until they are admitted on a quota basis like other countries.

V. GOVERNMENTAL IDEALS

1. The governmental ideals of China have changed in form through the centuries of its history.

2. The communistic form, the Chinese feel, will never be strong for there are too many people with good sense and some money who oppose it.

3. The facists form of government has a better chance to gain power through the interests of certain powerful leaders in China who are fostering it.

4. The democratic form of government is the one favored most. However, the Chinese feel that they are not educated enough to govern themselves.

5. At the present time the Chinese have a republic, which is twenty-two years old. Government education of the masses is the most important need of China today.

6. The students feel that the Chinese legislature with five divisions is better than ours with three. The criminal procedure in China is quicker than in America.

VI. RELIGIOUS BELIEFS

1. The five leading religions of China are: Confucianism, Buddhism, Mohammadanism, Taoism, amd Christianity.

2. The ancient religion of China was not entirely monotheistic, yet they worshipped a most high God.

3. Buddhism came to China about two hundred and fifty B. C. Today, it is the most popular religion in China.

4. Confucianism is looked upon as the state religion in China. It is one of the old religions.

5. Mohammedanism has never conquered China, but it has between fifteen to twenty million followers today in China.

6. Christianity is the least tolerant of the religions of China. It has suffered from the numerous sects that are represented in China. Everywhere that Christianity has gone a sympathy has arised for other people.

7. Toaism is the most difficult of all religions to measure because its fundamental bases are metaphysical.

8. The parents of the Chinese upon our campus belong to all the religious groups in China.

9. The Chinese students at the university belong to the same religious groups as they did in China with two exceptions.

10. Seventeen of the twenty-six Chinese students belong to the Christian religion in America.

11. Few of the Chinese have had their religious convictions weakened while in America because their Christianity was too vital.

12. Most of the religious convictions have been strengthened by the use they had had. Fine Christian people have aided the Chinese students more than any other influence.

13. None of the students have had their convictions remain the same. They either have been changed for the good or the worse.

14. The weaknesses of Christianity in America are the fault of the followers not the founder of the faith.

15. The main source of strength for Christianity in America is in its individual members who are true to the best they know.

VII. CONCLUSIONS

1. This study has made possible a better understanding of the Chinese upon our campus, by the investigator. On the whole they are a serious and earnest group of students, who are eager to gain all the educational advantages possible.

2. It is felt after this study that the only possible way to insure friendly relations with the Orient is by placing them on a quota basis.

3. The Chinese studying here do not have any interest and little contact with American-born Chinese. They feel that they do not truly represent China.

4. An interesting study would be that of obtaining an equal group of American students and interviewing them about their relations to the Chinese student life upon the campus.

5. The Americans that are prejudiced toward the Chinese usually are inferior to them.

IX. SUMMARY

Social and Economic Problems---
From Los Angeles Times, May 8, 1968

CHINATOWN: BOOMING BUT WORRIED

By Linda Mathews - Times Staff Writer

New Chinatown, the enclave of flaming neon lights and pagoda-roofed restaurants just off the Pasadena Freeway, is booming.

The population of Chinatown and environs has doubled in seven years, as immigrants from Hong Kong and Taiwan and long-time residents from other parts of the city stream into the area.

A building boom, spurred on by population growth and the Chinese quest for investment, has sent land values soaring and new apartments climbing the hills west of Chinatown, pushing the boundaries of Chinese settlement into Italian and Mexican-American neighborhoods. Yet for all the prosperity, the Chinese in Los Angeles have become aware of festering social and economic problems which threaten to overwhelm their traditional self-help efforts.

Troubles openly discussed. For the first time, Chinese businessmen here are openly discussing the difficulties of their people--an unpardonable breach in the eyes of some Chinese elders--and are soliciting financial assistance from local agencies and the federal government.

Some of their problems, which have plagued other Chinese communities before but are new to Los Angeles, have their roots 7,000 miles away. The tide of refugees from Communist China to Hong Kong in the last five years and a subsequent change in the U.S. immigration laws, which eliminated the national quota system, have brought a startling upturn in Chinese immigration to Los Angeles.

This area, in fact, is experiencing its greatest influx of Chinese immigrants since the 1870's, when laborers were imported to work on the railroads. An estimated 3,500 of last year's 20,000 immigrants from Hong Kong and Taiwan settled here, and of the 7,500 who entered at San Francisco, hundreds eventually came south looking for better jobs and more comfortable living conditions.

For reasons of family, culture and language, they located in or near Chinatown, transforming the traditional tourist area into a residential neighborhood. In important ways, the immigrants--who work long hours to keep their promise to the Immigration and Naturalization Service that they will stay off welfare rolls--are responsible for the boom.

"They create a huge demand for goods and services here," explains Wilbur Woo, a director of the Bank of Cathay. Yet the boom, though of their own creation, has made life difficult for the immigrants. Rising prices and often prohibitive rents in the new apartment units put the squeeze on the newcomers' meager salaries.

Not like destitute in San Francisco. They are not destitute, as are some residents of San Francisco's blighted Chinatown, where people are packed into tenements and ghetto conditions prevail. But a second, third and fourth generation Chinese here, who have become thoroughly Americanized and scattered throughout the city, fear that New Chinatown may well be on its way to becoming likfe San Francisco's Chinatown. They cite growing problems beneath New Chinatown's prosperous facade:

--About one-fifth of Los Angeles' 30,000 Chinese residents, mostly the recent immigrants, speak no English, which has become a formidable obstacle to finding any but menial jobs.

--About one-third of Chinatown area familes here have incomes below the poverty level of $4,000. Unemployment, however, is unknown.

--What the sociologists call "pre-delinquent behavior"--truancy, disobedience, shoplifting, curfew violations--is on the rise among Chinatown's youth, though the area still has nearly a spotless crime record.

--Depression, alcoholism and suicide are common among Chinatown's elderly, nearly all of whom are self-employed and consequently do not qualify for Social Security.

Their housing--bleak rooms without individual toilets above produce markets in what is called "China City"--is sub-standard and many live alone, cut off by the Communists from their families on mainland China.

--Mental illness is on the rise. The suicide rate is twice that of Caucasians, yet these and some problems of physical health go unabated. The Chinese are reluctant to see doctors or use the facilities of General Hospital because of the language barrier.

Yet, for all these problems, no one in Chinatown asks for public assistance.

The further irony is that the Chinese institutions which for decades took care of the elderly, arbitrated family disputes and sheltered and fed immigrants--the family associations--have fallen victim to the Chinese community's own succ success.

Language school. In addition, the Chinese Consolidated Benevolent As Assn., the confederation of family associations which used to be the most powerful force in the community, operates a Chinese language school on Yale Street, and a Chinese cemetery in East Los Angeles. "Most of the young people are cut off from the associations," said Stanton Mu, a mathematics teacher at Belvedere Junior High School. "They don't speak Chinese and their lives don't revolve around Chinatown. Many Chinese-Americans don't even think of themselves as Chinese, though they have to look at those Chinese faces every morning in the bathroom mirror."

NEW ORIENTAL IMMIGRANTS SEEN CUT OFF FROM PROSPERITY HOPES

By Linda Mathews - Times Staff Writer

Group is asking for U. S. funds to set up center to provide English instruction and job training. Mu and other Chinese members of the Council of Oriental Organizations, formed last fall to attack the Orientals' growing economic and social problems, had finally despaired of ever mobilizing the Chinese community which is scattered throughout Los Angeles and riven by countless feuds and jealousies. "A second-generation Chinese who lives and works in the valley is ignorant of what's happening in Chinatown, because he only takes his family for dinner there occasionally, "Mu said.

Attitude may be haughty. "And for many in the second and third generations who know all is not rosy, there is a haughty 'I made it, so can you' attitude toward the immigrants."

Chinese engineers are forced to take jobs as packers in the 25 Chinese-owned produce markets on S. San Pedro St. A current Chinatown joke concerns all the Hong Kong-trained chemists who now spend their lives making egg foo yung. "They could get jobs in their professions if they could speak English, but they can't learn English because they must work at two jobs to make ends meet, leaving no time for night school."

In fact, this crop of immigrants may be completely cut off from the prosperity that earlier arrivals finally achieved, COO maintains, Making it isn't as easy as it once was. "Fifty years ago, even 20 years ago, one man alone could come to Los Angeles and open his own laundry," says Edmund Jung, a natty young importer with wide business interests. "It didn't take much capital--a scrub board, some soap, a slittle shop. But these newcomers may be at the bottom the rest of their lives. Los Angeles doesn't need any more laundries and the immigrants won't be able to buy property, the way costs are rising. No matter how hard they work and save, they may never have anything to show for their efforts."

'FOB's" trapped. The youths--whom Chinatown teen-agers call "FOBs" (for Fresh Off the Boat)--are trapped in a situation which shows no sign of improvement. The FOB's don't know English when they get here and their parents move to Chinatown so the family can live with people like themselves and do their shopping in Chinese stores. Living that way, they never learn to speak English.

The Chinatown area does not even qualify for some state and federal assistance programs because agencies base funding on the 1960 census. Those figures antedate the tide of immigration which has lowered incomes throughout the area.

The job-training programs that now exist don't meet the Orientals' needs. They don't recognize that the first priority is teaching English.

Teachers hired. To fill the breach, the Chinese American Citizens Alliance--made up of second and third generation Chinese--hired a Chinese teacher to teach English to more than 180 Chinese adults. The program has since been taken over by the Los Angeles City Schools.

NEW CUSTOMS DISTURB FAMILIES

By Linda Mathews - Times Staff Writer

Chinatown's Young, Old Suffer. To the very young and the very old in Chinatown, the inscription on the camphorwood arch at the west gateway--"The best things Chinese are gathered here"--seems a relic of another age.

It does not reflect what has happened in the last 20 years, which have seen the relaxation of rigid Chinese family patterns, the abandonment of traditional reverence for the elderly and the isolation of individual Chinese from their families in Communist China. The immigrant children, particularly youths of high school age, suffer most. They are too old to become Americanized--as their younger brothers and sisters do--and yet they yearn for spending money, cars and freedom, the staples of American adolescence. And the American-born children of Chinese descent have "all the handgups any American bhild has, plus the problem of Chinese-speaking parents who literally don't understand them," in the words of one teen-ager.

Family real problem. "The real problem is the family," says Dr. Ernest Yee, a dentist and commander of an American Legion post which has tried to set up afterschool programs to keep teen-agers busy. "Father may hold two jobs, mother works in the sewing factory, and they don't have much time to spend with their kids. The kids don't respect authority as Chinese children are usually taught to do. They are conscious of being poor--having no spending money when some classmates may have their own cars--and we find some shoplift, some just keep bad company or keep their families in turmoil.

Police statistics--which show only sporadic juvenile arrists--would seem to belie widespread reports about delinquent behavior in Chinatown. But local leaders explain that many incidents are never reported to the police. If a young kid shoplifts, for example, the family association will just work it out and smooth it over. It's all handled within the community, because the merchants and the family associations don't want to air their dirty linen.

For teen-agers themselves, extra job counselling and training and accelerated English classes may be the answer. The American Legion has done some work in this area, but a full-fledged project would require the services of the Council of Oriental Organizations' projected community center.

Chinatown's elderly men pose an equally acute problem. Called gun san hok (sojourners), or bachelors, dozens of them live alone and spend their days sitting on benches or playing mah jong. They are not technically bachelors, but left wives and children in mainland China years ago and came to Los Angeles to make their fortunes. They sent money back to China and periodically visited their villages, intending to return finally upon retirement.

But the Communist defeat of the Nationalist Chinese in 1949 permanently divided these families. The sojourners, most of them living off savings because they refuse welfare, suffer from bad health, malnutrition and mental illness which occasionally leads to suicide, Chinatown's doctors report.

Bachelor quarters, which will accommodate only a fraction of Chinatown's elderly, are under construction on the fringes of the business district. The sponsors, the Chinatown Development Assn., say expansion will be impossible, though, because restaurants and markets surround the new building.

The immigrants are more sophisticated than the oldtimers about such things, but they worry about money and taking time off from their jobs. Some put off visits till there are serious complications. And the elderly still visit the herb doctors. Except for tuberculosis and occasional malnutrition, the immigrants have few health problems, the County Health Department reports. Immigration officials in Hong Kong give them two examinations before they come here, so the active TB cases are screened out. But 98% of the people in Hong Kong have either had TB or been exposed, so sometimes people with a speck on their lungs go undetected.

Despite the concern expressed by many different Chinese organizations, some leaders are discouraged. It is not just the immigrants and the elderly who suffer from mental illness, doctors say. Even seemingly well-adjusted, longtime residents react surprisingly to situations alien to their culture. Since the beginning of the Vietnam war, there have been a number of Chinese parents who have suffered nervous breakdowns. They believe in the Chinese tradition that only good for nothings join the Army. And they react violently and show great shame when their sons are drafted.

Jealousies strong. They worry that the potential powers for change in the community, each fiercely independent, will never be able to put aside jealousies and mount the kind of coordinated campaign necessary to tackle Chinatown's emerging, interlocking problems.

And they also worry that the accelerated immigration expected in coming years will transform Chinatown into an authentic ghetto before local and federal governments--which they believe are capable of solving massive problems --become aware of Chinese needs. We can still prevent some of these problems from coming to the surface. There's still time for preventive measures.

But if we don't do something quickly, and forget our pride and jealousy, we will be like San Francisco before we know it.

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THE FILIPINO - AMERICAN

THE FILIPINO-AMERICANS

I. HISTORICISMS

> What is public history, but a register of the successes and disappointments, the vices, the follies and the quarrels of those who engage in contention for power. -- Paley

The three minority groups, Japanese, Chinese, and Filipino, investigated herein have in common an Asian heritage, an ancestral language other than English, and a common sociocultural pattern. The pattern generally followed a sequence of: (1) large-scale agriculture labor importation, (2) racial discrimination in the forms of isolation and occasional exploitation, and (3) explicit efforts at deportation and exclusion. Gibbon wrote, "History is little more than the register of the crimes, follies, and misfortunes ofmankind." Gibbon's statement is reflected in the perpetuity that the Japanese, Chinese, and Filipinos have of the bitter and intimate experience of injury through discrimination because of their race and national origin.

The Filipinos did not leave their homeland because of political oppression, religious intolerance, or social inequality as most European immigrants did; the Filipinos were not "pushed" or "pulled" to America. Their migration was one of voluntary movement. It was the desire for adventure; it was for new experience in excelling educationally and economically that caused them to migrate into America.

1910 - Was the earliest official date mentioning Filipinos--the California census records showed five Filipino residents. (Table 36)

1920 - Demonstrated an enormous increase in the ten-year period - 2674. Table 37)

1930 - Showed the first significant female population (1845), but, the male-female ratio was sadly out of congruence. (This mal-congruence was to be a point of later racial troubles. The 1930 census showed the zenith of Filipino immigration.

Some of the stimulating and magnetic forces that motivated Filipino forces, that motivated Filipino immigration were: (1) labor recruiting, (2) Americanization, (3) media, and (4) economic betterment.

(1) Labor recruiting. The Hawaiian Sugar Plantation Association was instrumental in contracting a large number of Filipinos to work in Hawaii. This started as early as 1856-1857. The main office in Manila spread branches out into the hinterlands to contact laborers. The Association paid the Philippine

TABLE 36
POPULATION BY ETHNIC GROUP

Ethnic group	1960	1950	1940	1930	1920	1910	1900	1890
Total population	15,717,204	10,586,223	6,907,387	5,677,251	3,426,861	2,377,549	1,485,053	1,213,398
White	14,455,230	9,915,173	6,596,763	5,408,260	3,264,711	2,259,672	1,402,727	1,111,833
Span. Sur.	1,426,538	758,400	a	a	a	a	a	a
% of total	9.1	7.2	a	a	a	a	a	a
% of white	9.9	7.6	a	a	a	a	a	a
Nonwhite	1,261,974	671,050	310,624	268,991	162,150	117,877	82,326	101,565
Japanese	157,317	84,956	93,717	97,456	71,952	41,356	10,151	1,147
% of total	1.0	0.8	1.4	1.7	2.1	1.7	0.7	0.1
% of nonwhite	12.5	12.7	30.2	36.2	44.4	35.1	12.3	1.1
Chinese	95,600 5	58,324	39,556	37,361	28,812	36,248	45,753	72,472
% of total	0.6	0.6	0.0.6	0.7	0.8	1.5	3.1	6.0
% of nonwhite	7.6	8.7	12.7	13.9	17.8	3 .8	55.6	71.4
Filipino	65,459	40,424	31,408	30,470	2,674	5	a	a
% of total	0.4	0.4	0.5	0.5	0.1	b	a	a
% of nonwhite	5.2	6.0	10.1	11.3	1.6	b	a	a
Negro	883,861	462,172	124,306	81,048	38,763	21,645	11,045	11,322
% of total	5.6	4.4	1.8	1.4	1.1	0.9	0.7	0.9
% of nonwhite	70.0	68.9	40.0	30.1	23.9	18.4	13.4	11.1
Amer.-Indian	39,014	19,947	18,675	19,212	17,360	16,371	15,377	16,624
% of total	0.2	0.2	0.3	0.3	0.5	0.7	1.0	1.4
% of nonwhite	3.1	3.0	6.0	7.1	10.7	13.9	18.7	16.4
All other	20,723	5,227	2,962	3,444	2,589	2,252	--	--

a Not available b Less than .05 of 1 per cent. Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census.
Based on a complete count of the population except for Spanish surname, which was based on a 25 % sample.

TABLE 37
CALIFORNIANS OF FILIPINO ANCESTRY, BY SEX
1850-1960

Year	Filipino		
	Both sexes	Men	Women
1850	-	-	-
1860	-	-	-
1870	-	-	-
1880	-	-	-
1890	-	-	-
1900	-	-	-
1910	5	b	b
1920	2,674	b	b
1930	30,470	28,625	1,845
1940	31,408	b	b
1950	40,424	30,819	9,605
1960	65,459	42,422	23,037

[b] Not available.

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census.

government for the right to recruit laborers. Some critics of the recruiting system opine that many "green" recruits were badly misled about the rosy future in Hawaii.

(2) Americanization. American participation in Philippine Island affairs was impressive in the first part of the 1900's. American inventions, innovations, and implementations--mail, railroads, telegraph--acted as a catalyst to an agricultural economy such as the Philippines. Education, as exemplified through textbooks, painted the United States as the land of opportunity, equality, liberty, wealth, and pleasure. The brochures, pamphlets, and books that the missionaries showed a great country that the Filipinos wanted to get into.

(3) Media. The media (audio, visual, and aural) also have a bearing upon emigration. American newspapers and magazines--particularly the "movie" magazines--are said to have lured many of the Filipinos. Motion pictures (the great imprinter and stereotyper) tend to romanticize and exaggerate whatever they portray (many stereotypes of groups and events are built on motion pictures). Hollywood with its "glamour" can easily impress an agricultural dreamer.

(4) Economic betterment. One of the immediate causes of Filipino immigration was economic betterment. Economic betterment due to:

(a) The unevenness of the distribution of population.
(b) The unemployment in large urban centers, such as Manila and other large cities.
(c) The lack of opportunities--farm laborers can only eke out a hand-to-mouth existence.
(d) The waste of manpower due to forced idleness during off-season. (1:24)

Although legal entries of Filipinos into America started in 1910, many came before that time as stowaways and as domestic servants. The first group that came directly from the Philippines was the student group (government pensionados), the second was the self-supporting students, and the third and last group was the laboring class. Most laborers used Los Angeles and San Francisco as the main ports of entry, and Hawaii and Manila were the places of embarkation--most Hawaiian embarkees belonged to the laboring class.

Table 37 supports that the Filipinos who entered the United States were prodominately males. Also, another important characteristic of the Filipinos admitted to America was the preponderance of single men. Many who were married did not bring their wives and families with them.

Table 37 shows that Filipino entries into continental United States showed an irregular flow. The flow was partly due to the anti-Filipino propaganda by the American Federation of Labor together with a number of patriotic organizations during 1925, 1930, 1931, and 1932. The depression years and the frequent Filipino disturbances and race riots of 1928, 1929, 1930, and 1932.

March 24, 1934 was the date when Congress passed the MacDuffy-Tiding's Law (it went into effect on May 1, 1934). The law put an end to the unrestricted and undirected mass Filipino immigration into the United States. (See Table 37)

I. ACCULTURATION

> I am very sure that any man of common understanding may by culture, care, attention, and labor, make himself whatever he pleases, except a great poet. -- Chesterfield

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The acculturation problems of the Filipino-American are based on: (1) their enculturation and acculturation values which they or their forefathers brought from the Philippines, and (2) their cultural shocks and conflicts in-with the American community. The enculturations are imprinted and the Americans reject them. The shocks and conflicts are ever-present and ever-changing and ever-puzzling. Adjustments by Filipino are often sought but are difficult to find.

Filipinos come from a land of many dialects, many groups, and many organizations. As a consequence, they tend to organize themselves into little clubs, many of which are structured on locals in the homeland. Other organizations are assembled at places of employment, branches of the armed forces, and other formal and informal institutions.

The proliferation of Filipino organizations in America is largely attributed to such factors as the desire for social approval and recognition among their local leaders. Their organizations are definitely moving them toward a large-scale or non-factional unity.

The Filipino newspapers, of which there are over fifty-nine, are a means of expression of Filipino ethos. Newspapers are organs of:

(1) Accredited Filipino fraternal orders.
(2) Filipino labor.
(3) Filipino students in America.
(4) Employment opportunities.
(5) Social events.
(6) General interest.

Filipino social acculturation is taking place largely in the Filipino centers. Within the centers are found:

(1) Commendable business enterprises: restaurants, barber shops, grocery stores, and personal services.
(2) Social activities: dances, banquets, club meetings, and "get-togethers."

(3) Interracial meetings between Filipino men and polyracial women. The paucity of Filipino women necessitates intermarriage. (Table 37)

Repatriation is a "helping hand" process which relieves the depressed conditions of stranded Filipinos. Repatriation is concerned with three groups:

(1) The minority group--criminals and problem cases.
(2) Students.
(3) The laborers.

The Repatriation Law was passed by Congress in 1935. It permitted stranded Filipinos to return voluntarily at United States Government expense; very few Filipinos have sought such aid. The homeward trek of Filipinos marks the last stage in the acculturation process in so far as it concerns the United States Government.

II. CONTACT, COMPETITION, ACCOMMODATION, ASSIMILATION

> It is the privilege of posterity to set matters right between those antagonists who, by their rivalry for greatness, divided a whole age.
>
> -- Addison

American invention, innovation, application, and technologization has always been involved with "colored" or "minority" groups as a source of cheap labor.

1619 - America brought the first Negroes from Africa, much against their will to serve as slaves--"free" labor or, at worst, cheap labor.

1850 - America imported Chinese "coolies" to work as agricultural and mine workers.

1890 - America had a large inflow of Japanese as cheap agricultural labor--the 1924 immigration laws and World War II checked the flow.

1900 - America sought Mexican labor as a source of cheap and plentiful supply of agricultural workers.

1920 - America turned to Filipino laborers when organized labor and various other pressure groups sought to cut off the influx of Mexican labor.

Contact initially between Americans and Filipino labor was found by the farm owners and businessmen who found that the Filipinos were steady, reliable, and ambitious workers. Besides agriculture, the Filipinos worked in canneries, post offices, merchant marine, the United States Navy, and in the motion picture industry.

The income of the Filipinos while better in America than in Hawaii or the Philippines was under that of other groups. (Tables 21 and 22)

Under the competition from the Filipinos other groups became economically jealous. During the peak years of Filipino immigration (1929) there developed much social unrest and insecurity in American communities. The Filipino influx was looked upon as a group of "newcomers" who were ready and willing to undercut the job prices, work harder and longer, and demand less. This was unfair competition. The condition brought on a number of physical reactions against the Filipinos (see E. S. Bogardus, Anti-Filipino Race Riots, May 15, 1930 for details on disturbances.)

The overt causes of anti-Filipino physical disturbances were economic competition; the covert causes were competition based on Filipino-white girl relations. Ironically, it was other "colored"--the Mexicans--who urged a strike in the lettuce fields to protest against the presence of Filipinos competing with them for employment on the farms. The Americans seemed to have shrunk from the agricultural labor competition thrust upon them by the Filipino immigrants. They were unwilling to take part in the lowest kind of day labor in competition with "coloreds." Actually, the best jobs were given to whites, while Filipino and Mexican laborers were given merely subsistence wages. In the face of such economic and physical hostility the Filipinos reached accommodation through seeking "safe" work: domestic service, janitor, elevator operator, and other personal services. Consequently, the number of Filipinos engaged in skilled labor competition was comparatively small and not sufficient to disturb the skilled laboring class, nor in numbers large enough to drive other American laborers out of their occupational preparation--to compete.

As an outcome of the Filipinos losing the contact, competition, accommodation struggle they have not become assimilated into the American mainstream.

[illegible] the greater bulk of Filipino-
[illegible] Even though most single immigrants
[illegible] a Filipino woman they have to seek
[illegible] the Filipino has not been
[illegible] girls of other ethnic groups. Assimi-
[illegible] of any ethnic group; consequently, an
[illegible] marriage with a Filipino means that
[illegible] siblings, peer group, and family.
Contrary [illegible] families or parents want their daughters
to marry out of their [illegible] regardless of ethnicity.

Filipino m[illegible] with almost all races or nationality
groups--possibly [illegible] from preference.

On the quest[illegible] preferences among Filipinos, the
Filipino-[illegible] then the Filipino-Mulatto, Filipino-
Hungarian [illegible] -Italian, Filipino-English, and
Filipino-[illegible] . . . Partial explanation of the
[illegible] similarity in many ways--such as
[illegible] color and standard of living;
[illegible] socio-economic status and similar occu-
[illegible] common religious background
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[illegible] families had a Filipino father
[illegible] female count went up as ex-ser-
[illegible] and female tourists and
[illegible]
[illegible] families in 13 western states.

[illegible] came to America, naturally bring

III. *CULTURE AND THE FAMILY*

A happy family is but an earlier heaven. -- Bowring

The family whether nuclear, extended, or communal, is the primary cultural component. Family life means the enculturation, acculturation, transculturation foci of mankind. Through the family individuals establish a social unit and make its characteristics a reflection of their ideas, aims, and ideals.

Table 37 attests that the Filipinos are in large measure, suffering from a paucity of Filipino women; therefore, they have been excessively mobile with very little family and home life. In addition, the greater bulk of Filipino-American families are of mixed parenthood. Even though most single immigrants look forward to and would prefer marrying a Filipino woman they have to seek companionship of other nationalities. Historically, the Filipino has not been able to meet, court, and marry the "nice" girls of other ethnic groups. Assimilation in America has not yet won approval of any ethnic group; consequently, an interracial, intercultural or inter-religious marriage with a Filipino means that the non-Filipino girl is often cut off from her siblings, peer group, and family. Contrary to all assumptions, very few families or parents want their daughters to marry out of their own ethnic group, regardless of ethnicity.

Filipino men have intermarried with almost all races or nationality groups--possibly from need more than from preference.

> On the question of intermarriage preferences among Filipinos, the Filipino-Mexican is ranked first; then the Filipino-Mulatto, Filipino-Hungarian, Filipino-Spanish, Filipino-Italian, Filipino-English, and Filipino-French follow in that order. . . . Partial explanation of the preferences are: For the Mexican, similarity in many ways--such as cultural background, language, religion, color and standard of living; for the Mulattos, color, identical socio-economic status and similar occupational outlook; for the Spaniards, common religious background (Catholicism) and Filipino adaptability to the Spanish language. In all of these intermixtures color seems to have the strongest influence in the preference of one group upon the other. Conflicts in the home of Filipino intermarriage arise from differences in socio-cultural backgrounds, differences in the standard of living, and differences in temperament. (1:69-70)

Before World War II very few Filipino families had a Filipino father and a Filipino mother. After World War II the female count went up as ex-servicemen brought their Filipino wives and families, and female tourists and students married some of the "local boys." Filipino families tended to be larger, on the whole, than either Japanese or Chinese families in 13 western states. (See Table 38)

Filipinos, like other immigrants who came to America, naturally bring

TABLE 38

SIZE OF FAMILY
White, Japanese, Chinese, Filipino, and Other Nonwhite Persons
Thirteen Western States,* 1960

Size of family	White		Japanese		Chinese		Filipino		Other nonwhite	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Total families, 13 states	6,564,848	100.0	88,858	100.0	31,121	100.0	28,430	100.0	310,603	100.0
2 persons	2,272,840	34.6	18,246	20.5	5,950	19.1	5,998	21.2	89,399	28.8
3 3 persons	1,349,800	20.6	18,197	20.5	6,254	20.1	4,889	17.2	61,948	19.9
4 persons	1,327,167	20.2	20,539	23.1	6,888	22.1	4,982	17.5	49,965	16.1
5 persons	861,743	13.1	15,625	17.6	5,534	17.8	4,156	14.6	37,787	12.2
6 persons	433,149	6.6	9,157	10.3	3,548	11.4	3,409	12.0	27,173	8.7
7 or more	320,149	4.6	7,094	8.0	2,947	9.5	4,986	17.5	44,331	14.3

---

*Includes the states of: California, Alaska, Arizona, Colorado, Hawaii, Idaho, Montana, Nevada, New Mexico Oregon, Utah, Washington, and Wyoming. Data on size of family not available for California alone for Japanese, Chinese, andChinese and Filipino population.

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census. Based on a 25-per cent sample of the population.

their culture with them. Cultural modifications were required particularly in clothing, housing, household appliances, and shopping. Cultural modifications brought about a change in ways of thinking, attitudes, ideas, values, family life, and parent-child relationships. Family authority is democratic. The father is the bread-winner, and the mother is the home-keeper.

The Filipino group is always faced with a myriad of morale problems. Problems that plague them are poor housing, vocational "chances," legal avenues to determine rights, unsavory neighborhoods, and discriminations. The preceding problem areas are the burdens of any immigrant group but more so to a high visibility group such as the Filipinos. A positive morale "crutch" are churches and the many Filipino organizations.

Presently, the Filipino community has no definite geographical location; yet, their population is socially conscious, working toward and through social organizations, churches, community clubs, fraternal and patriotic organizations, and other group-oriented structures to meet physiological, sociological, and economic needs.

IV. HOUSING

> America's future will be determined by the home and the school. The child becomes largely what it is taught, hence we must watch what we teach it, and how we live before it.
> -- Jane Addams

Between 1950 and 1960 the largest per cent (33%) of Filipinos lived in the San Francisco-Oakland Metropolitan Area. (See Table 39)

The largest percentage of males (25%) were in the 45-54 years range; the highest percentage of adult females (17%) were in the 25-34 years range. (See Table 40)

The Filipinos in the 1950-1960 period increased their urban residence almost 20 per cent (79.6 - 59.9). (See Table 41)

In the urban centers the Filipinos are widely dispersed; for example, in Los Angeles, they are so dispersed, in almost every section of the city, that there is no specific "Filipino enclave." This wide dispersal of a "colored" minority group is contrary to the "pockets of poverty" that encompass the Spanish-surname Americans, the American Indians, and the Afro-Americans. This wide dispersal is partly due to: (1) Filipino's buying and renting in "safe" areas, (2) the high inter- and intra-marriages between Filipino men and "other" women, (3) the low count of Filipinos in the state of California (65,459), and (4) group pressure exerts a strong control in the ecological distribution of Filipinos. It is not always determined by free choice.

> In this desperate need for a home, one buys a house where others have bought theirs, in other words, where the pressure to maintain restrictive covenants is weak. Strong feeling of nationalism or provincialism also plays an important role in the selection for the location of one's home. (1:46)

> This does not mean, however, that a pure Filipino neighborhood is developing. Filipinos live where other minority groups are found. (1:46)

The Filipino population of both Los Angeles City and Los Angeles County is more dispersed than either the Negro, Hispano, or other Oriental populations. However, statistics for this group still reveal a considerable degree of residential segregation. Important to a consideration of housing segregation is the type and quality of housing that citizens of this community are able to provide for themselves on a rental or sale basis. It is important, in that connection, to point out that minority group persons--and particularly the "coloreds"--are percentage-wise, the chief inhabitants of the less favorable but higher priced housing to be found in Los Angeles County. The city's troubles are both physical and social; housing is heavily related to both the physical and social assimilation of the Filipino-American.

TABLE 39

POPULATION BY METROPOLITAN AREA
California 1960

Metropolitan area	Japanese			Chinese			Filipino		
	Number	Per cent Japanese of total		Number	Per cent Chinese of total		Number	Per cent Filipino of total	
		state	area		state	area		state	area
California, total	157,317	100.0	1.0	95,600	100.0	0.6	65,459	100.0	0.4
Fresno	6,252	4.0	1.7	1,733	1.8	0.5	696	1.1	0.2
Los Angeles - Long Beach	81,204	51.7	1.2	19,730	20.6	0.3	12,869	19.7	0.2
Sacramento	8,124	5.2	1.6	6,770	7.1	1.3	1,845	2.8	0.4
San Diego	4,778	3.0	0.5	1,586	1.7	0.2	5,114	7.8	0.5
San Francisco-Oakland	24,462	15.5	0.9	52,984	55.4	1.9	21,451	32.7	0.8
San Jose	10,432	6.6	1.6	2,394	2.5	0.4	2,333	3.6	0.4
Remainder of State	22.065	14.0	0.6	10,403	10.9	0.3	21,151	32.3	0.6

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census. Based on a complete count of the population.

TABLE 40

POPULATION, BY AGE AND SEX

Age and sex	Per cent of male or female				
	White				
Male, all ages	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Under 5 years	11.1	12.8	11.2	10.3	14.9
5- 9 years	10.2	10.2	11.6	8.9	12.2
10-14 years	9.2	7.6	9.2	8.0	9.4
15-19 years	7.4	6.3	4.5	4.7	6.9
20-24 years	6.4	6.2	6.0	4.5	7.6
25-34 years	13.6	18.6	16.3	9.6	15.2
35-44 years	14.4	18.2	14.6	6.4	14.5
45-54 years	11.6	6.9	11.6	24.9	9.9
55-64 years	8.2	5.7	8.8	17.9	5.7
65 years and over	7.9	7.5	6.2	4.8	3.7
Female, all ages	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Under 5 years	10.6	11.7	13.5	18.0	14.5
5- 9 years	9.8	9.8	13.3	15.3	11.9
10-14 years	8.8	7.6	10.7	13.3	9.2
15-19 years	6.7	5.9	4.8	7.6	6.7
20-24 years	6.0	7.1	7.3	6.7	7.3
25-34 years	13.1	22.9	20.1	17.1	15.4
35-44 years	14.6	17.7	13.6	11.9	14.6
45-54 years	11.6	5.8	8.9	6.4	10.0
55-64 years	8.7	6.3	4.9	2.9	5.9
65 years and over	10.1	5.2	2.9	0.8	4.5

Note: Figures in this table are based on a 25 per cent sample and may vary from figures in other Census population tables which are based on complete-count data.

Source: U. S. Bureau of the Census.

TABLE 41

POPULATION IN URBAN AND RURAL AREAS
Total Population, Japanese, Chinese, Filipino, and Other Non-white Persons
California, 1950 and 1960

Area of residence	1950		1960	
	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent
Total population				
California	10,586,223	100.0	15,717,204	100.0
Urban	8,539,420	80.7	13,573,155	86.4
Rural	2,046,803	19.3	2,144,049	13.6
Japanese				
California	84,956	100.0	157,317	100.0
Urban	59,242	69.7	136,099	86.5
Rural	25,714	30.3	21,218	13.5
Chinese				
California	58,324	100.0	95,600	100.0
Urban	54,957	94.2	92,198	96.4
Rural	3,367	5.8	3,402	3.6
Filipino				
California	40,424	100.0	65,459	100.0
Urban	24,219	59.9	52,091	79.6
Rural	16,205	40.1	13,368	20.4
Other nonwhite				
California	487,346	100.0	943,598	100.0
Urban	436,017	89.5	872,961	92.5
Rural	51,329	10.5	70,637	7.5

Note: Definitions of rural and urban are only roughly comparable for 1950 and 1960.

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census. Based on a complete count of population.

V. EMPLOYMENT

> Employment gives health, sobriety, and morals. Constant employment and well-paid labor produce, in a country like ours, general prosperity, content, and cheerfulness.
>
> -- Daniel Webster

"Juan de la Cruz" is the national character (Uncle Sam for Americans and John Bull for Great Britain) that typifies the Filipino. Juan is (1) small in stature, (2) light and well muscled in figure, (3) rich brown in pigmentation, and (4) considered "short" (average 5'2" for males) according to American height and weight standards. The preceding physical attributes tend to delimit the employment potentials of the Filipinos in certain fields and areas (policemen, firemen, truckers, heavy construction work, skills requiring physical strength and prowness, and other "muscle" jobs).

Industry Distribution. In 1960, the largest proportion of Filipinos (29 (29%) were employed in agriculture. Although Filipinos and Japanese together made up only 1.7% of California's total employment, they accounted for 9.3% of the agriculture, forestry, and fisheries work force. (Tables 42 and 43)

The industry pattern of employed workers varied by metropolitan area, Filipinos in the Los Angeles-Long Beach district worked 27% in manufacturing 26% in trade, and 5% in agriculture. (Table 44) In the San Francisco-Oakland area, Filipinos worked 14% in manufacturing and 17% in trade. (Table 44)

Occupation. In 1960 the Filipino workers in California were 3% farmers and farm managers, and 28% farm laborers and foremen. (Table 18) Four per cent of the Filipinos were in professional and technical occupations, and over 50% of the Filipinos were either farm laborers or service workers. Filipino women contributed a low percentage to the work force--35%. Of the Filipino women who were employed, 31% were clerical workers; the next largest worked in service, except private household--17%. (Table 28)

> Unemployment. Unemployment rates were highest among Filipinos (of the Orientals): 7.8 per cent for men and 13.6 per cent for women. The Census count, taken during April, does not coincide with the peak seasonal employment period for farm workers, which is a sizeable occupational group for Filipino men. (15:13)

Income. In 1959, the median annual income for Filipino men was $2,925; this was below the income of all other men--majority and minority. In 1959 the median annual income for Filipino women was $1,591; this exceeded only the Spanish surname's income ($1,534). Table 45

In 1959 almost half (48%) of the Filipino men in the 25 years old and older group earned less than $3,000. 28% earned less than $2,000. Table 46

TABLE 42

INDUSTRY DISTRIBUTION OF EMPLOYED PERSONS 14 YEARS OLD AND OVER

California, 1960

Industry	Per cent of State Total				
	White	Japanese	Chinese	Filipino	Other nonwhite
Employed, 14 years and over	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Agriculture, forestry, fisheries	4.4	25.1	1.9	28.5	2.4
Mining	0.5	a	a	0.1	a
Construction	6.4	1.7	2.0	1.0	6.1
Manufacturing	24.7	15.7	16.0	13.0	17.7
Durable foods	16.4	8.6	6.1	8.0	10.8
Nondurable goods	8.3	7.1	9.9	5.0	6.9
Transportation, communication, and other public utilities	6.9	2.9	3.4	4.4	6.7
Wholesale and retail trade	19.1	18.8	38.9	15.8	11.1
Finance, insurance, and real estate	5.3	3.9	4.4	2.7	1.9
Business and repair services	2.5	3.1	1.8	1.0	3.4
Personal services	4.9	9.7	8.0	8.1	17.2
Entertainment and recreation services	1.5	0.5	0.8	2.2	1.0
Professional and related services	12.6	10.2	10.1	8.3	12.0
Public administration	5.9	5.1	7.4	6.8	10.4
Industry not reported	4.3	3.3	5.3	8.1	10.1

[a] Less than .05 of 1 per cent.

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census. Based on a 25-per cent sample of the population.

TABLE 43

WHITE, JAPANESE, CHINESE, FILIPINO, AND OTHER NONWHITE PERSONS AS A PERCENT OF TOTAL EMPLOYMENT

By Industry, California, 1960
(Employed persons 14 years old and over)

Industry	Per cent of industry total				
	White	Japanese	Chinese	Filipino	Other nonwhite
Employed, 14 yrs. & over)	92.4	1.2	0.7	0.5	5.2
Agriculture, forestry, fisheries	87.6	6.5	0.3	2.8	2.8
Mining	99.2	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.5
Construction	94.3	0.3	0.2	0.1	5.1
Manufacturing	94.6	0.8	0.5	0.2	3.9
Durable goods	95.2	0.6	0.3	0.2	3.7
Nondurable goods	93.4	1.0	0.8	0.3	4.5
Transportation, communication, and other public utilities	93.6	0.5	0.3	0.3	5.3
Wholesale and retail trade	93.6	1.2	1.4	0.4	3.1
Finance, insurance, and real estate	96.2	0.9	0.6	0.2	2.1
Business and repair services	93.2	1.1	0.4	0.1	5.2
Personal services	80.3	2.1	1.0	0.6	16.0
Entertainment and recreation services	94.8	0.4	0.4	0.7	3.7
Professional and related services	93.1	1.0	0.6	0.3	5.0
Public administration	88.7	1.0	0.8	0.5	9.0
Industry not reported	86.2	0.9	0.8	0.8	11.3

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census. Based on a 25 per cent sample of population.

TABLE 44

INDUSTRY DISTRIBUTION OF EMPLOYED PERSONS 14 YEARS & OVER

Percentage Distribution

Metropolitan area and industry	White	Japanese	Chinese	Filipino	Other nonwhite
Los Angeles-Long Beach					
Total employed (14 yrs. & over)	2,390,727	37,635	8,266	5,474	173,394
Total per cent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Agriculture, forestry, fisheries	1.2	18.8	0.7	5.4	0.6
Mining	0.4	a	a	0.1	a
Construction	5.6	1.8	1.4	1.4	5.1
Manufacturing	31.4	21.7	18.0	26.7	21.4
Transportation, communication and other public utilities	6.3	3.3	2.7	3.0	6.1
Wholesale and retail trade	19.0	21.6	38.0	25.9	12.4
Finance, insurance, and real estate	5.6	4.7	4.6	4.2	2.2
Business and repair services	3.9	3.7	2.4	1.4	4.0
Personal services	4.3	6.9	8.0	8.0	15.5
Entertainment and recreation services	2.0	0.5	1.0	2.8	1.1
Professional and related services	11.6	9.8	13.2	11.5	12.0
Public administration	4.0	3.8	5.6	5.2	11.0
Industry not reported	4.7	3.8	5.6	5.2	11.0
San Francisco-Oakland					
Total employed (14 yrs. and over)	956,049	11,050	22,732	8,166	78,005
Total per cent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Agriculture, forestry, fisheries	1.3	14.1	1.3	5.8	0.6
Mining	0.2	a	a	--	a
Construction	0.2	1.3	2.3	1.2	7.0
Manufacturing	21.8	9.4	17.4	13.5	14.3
Transportation, communication, and other public utilities	9.2	5.0	4.4	10.3	9.1
Wholesale and retail trade	19.6	16.7	34.7	17.4	8.8
Finance, insurance, and real estate	7.1	5.3	5.3	4.8	2.0
Business and repair services	3.7	2.9	1.7	1.2	2.4
Personal services	4.7	19.6	8.9	12.1	18.2
Entertainment and recreation services	1.1	0.6	0.7	2.3	0.8
Professional and related services	14.1	14.6	9.3	11.8	113.2
Public administration	6.6	7.0	8.1	10.9	13.3
Industry not reported	4.9	3.5	5.9	8.7	10.3

---

[a] Less than .05 of 1 per cent.

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census. Based on a 25 per cent sample of population.

TABLE 45

MEDIAN ANNUAL INCOME IN 1959, PERSONS 14 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER, CALIFORNIA

Population group	Median* annual income	
	Male	Female
Filipino	$2,925	$1,591
Negro	3,553	1,596
Chinese	3,803	1,997
Spanish surname	3,849	1,534
Japanese	4,388	2,144
White (including Spanish surname)	5,109	1,812

TABLE 46

ANNUAL INCOME OF MEN 25 YEARS OLD AND OVER CALIFORNIA, 1959

Population group	Per cent Under $2,000	Per cent Under $3,000	Per cent Under $5,000
Filipino	27.6	48.0	79.2
Negro	22.0	34.2	70.9
Chinese	21.2	33.6	61.6
Spanish surname	2-.8	30.9	59.9
Japanese	16.5	26.1	52.9
White (including Spanish surname)	14.1	21.1	40.4

---

* The "median" is the middle value of the income distribution: half of the group has an income equal to or below the median income figure; the other half has an income equal to or above the median amount.

California's need for seasonal agricultural workers was due to the irrigation of the San Joaquin, Santa Clara, Sacramento, and Russian River Valleys in 1870. The Chinese Exclusion Act in 1882 opened the way for Japanese labor importation until World War I. The end of World War I accelerated the tide of workers from Mexico, Hawaii, and the Philippines; by 1928 the Mexicans were 56 per cent of the California labor force. The Filipinos were about 40 per cent. The Filipinos represented a substantial part of the agricultural labor force until the early part of World War II; during the war, the heavy demand for defense industry workers (at "fabulous" wages) drained off an appreciable number of Filipinos. Following the end of the war "the last hired were the first fired" and the Filipinos had to return to less renumerative employment. In brief, as of July 1960, a Filipino laborer classified in the canning or construction industry can earn from $1,77 to $3.05 per hour in the same San Joaquin and Santa Clara Valley. Yet, the main occupational outlet for Filipino workers is agriculture.

Domestic and personal service is the second significant occupational area for California Filipinos. From 1940 until the present (1968) this service field has been profitable--the Filipino's physical components are important. Filipinos are used heavily in hotels, restaurants, business firms, and private homes. The domestic agencies, an urban establishment, operate with efficiency, dispatch, and economic gain to dispatch the Filipino to the job--this job, except for Chinese or Negro, is non-competitive (traditionally, the Japanese will accept only a very special and high-paying domestic position).

The canning industry is the third most significant employment area for the Filipino --

> In 1921, when 957 of them were hired by Chinese and Japanese contractors and hand laborers. Very shortly, the Filipino's proven physical stamina made him a desired worker and his demand in this line of work grew rapidly. In 1927 all Filipinos in the canning industries numbered 2,869, and in 1930 this figure increased to 4,210. . . . It was also due to the fact that the Japanese and Chinese population of California was very largely agricultural and never attempted to dominate the industries connected with fishing. (12:65)

VI. RELIGION

> The body of all true religion consists in obedience to the will of God, in a confidence in his declaration, and an imitation of his perfections.
>
> -- Burke

> The last resort for control is religion. Divine law is more powerful then man-made law. The law of nature is more powerful than the process of law. The government of God is more powerful than the government of man, but both government and religion control the destiny of any people. (3:76)

Most of the Filipinos who come to or are presently in America are Christians; actually, the Philippines Islanders are the only Christian nation in the Orient. Most of the immigrants are either Protestant or Roman Catholics; therefore the Filipinos had little or no trouble finding their religious "homes." Ideally, the church is a means of contact between the Filipino and the Americans--it takes the place of the lost home influence. In reality, the American white churches practice an exclusion that is contrary to their "Whosoever will may come" creed.

The exclusion of the Filipino from the American-based Protestant or Roman Catholic Church is covert rather than overt.

> The priests, ministers, and church workers. . . . are willing to practice the Christian prinsiples that they preach, but they are up against the public opinion and convention that foster race prejudice and segregation. . . . These leaders of the churches, natually organize the Filipinos among themselves, if there are enough to constitute a club or a fellowship, in order that they may function on their own volition. This is a successful step toward an unconscious segregation. (3:83)

Since religion has two aspects, the subjective and the objective, a group of American missionaries and Filipino leaders conceived the idea of forming a Filipino center. The names of these two religious clubs suggest the division of religious clubs into Protestant and Catholic. Both clubs were organized to conduct Bible studies, prayer meetings, and discussion groups among its members.

The lack of a Filipino-operated church is presently due to their lack of stability, financial solvency, togetherness, and power rather than to disinterest.

VII. EDUCATION AND DROPOUT *

> Education does not mean teaching people to know what they do not know; it means teaching them to behave as they do not behave.
>
> -- Ruskin

> The Filipino student in the United States is an agent of racial concord. This fact was established in the beginning of the close inter-relationship between the Government of the Philippine Islands and America, . . . These ambitious Filipino students in the United States of America will be men and women of tomorrow, who will in the near future be the leaders of their own country and people, and will carry on to the stepping-stone of their newly established form of government. (9:1-3)

The year 1908 when the Philippine University was founded was the time of the first students being sent by the government to study in America--they had to have degrees from the University.

October, 1930, was the time of the influx of Filipino students--they were selected by the government as gifted and qualified students (16-20 years of age). They were to have all their necessary expenses paid for four or more years.

The Filipino government was interested in:

(1) Training young people to become ambassadors of goodwill, friendship, and internationsl relations.
(2) Acquiring Americanism.
(3) Training its future leaders.
(4) Interpreting Christianity.

The 1924 Immigration Act gave Filipino students the privilege of being appointed to study in America and then to return to the "Islands." From 1903-1924 approximately 500 students were studying in the United States. From 1924-1935 approximately 7000 students were enrolled at American institutions of higher education.

Financial Resources. Filipino students were/are listed under several classifications according to their sources of income:

(1) Pensionados - The persons (5%) who were/are under a cash allowance, necessary college expenses, medical attention, and clothing subsidy. The students had shown scholastic ability and interest.

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* This unit drew heavily from Obando, Aquilino B., "A Study of the Problems of Filipino Students in the United States." Unpublished Master's Thesis, University of Southern California, 1936.

(2) Self-supporting -- The students who bear their own expenses through part-time, full-time or both, work. This group supplies labor for farms, canneries, stores, restaurants, the post office, and other institutions. This group is the largest (63%) and gets better grades than the other. The availability of work often determines the student's choice of a profession; for example, a student will select a course, not because it is relevant, but because its hours are congruent with his work schedule.

The feasibility of self-support while working in higher education has been one of the magnets that has drawn Filipino students to American institutions.

(3) Partially self-supporting -- This group (32%) receives financial aid from parents, relatives, or friends. The work for this group usually consists of part-time domestic service working at the university and other work that does not interfere too greatly with study time. The descendants of wealthy or well-to-do middle class Filipinos are usually in this group.

Geographical Distribution. The geographical distribution of Filipino students is uneven: The western institutions have the highest enrollment, 56%. The middle-western are second, 34%, and the eastern universities have the lowest enrollment, 10%. (9:28, 30, 33, 35, 36)

There are a number of reasons for the West having the highest enrollment, some reasons are:

1. Availability of work, all year.
2. Siblings, friends, or family are already located in the area.
3. Possibility of social, economic, physical, and spiritual needs being fulfilled by a person or persons of similar background already in the city or college community.
4. Weather demands fewer clothing expenses.
5. Lower tuition (in more institutions).
6. "Name" professors.

Educational Interests. Filipino nationalism is shown through the courses that the students take. The courses point toward improvement of their country; the schools ranked:

1. Liberal Arts
2. Letters and Sciences and Engineering.
3. Education.
4. Commerce.
5. Agriculture (:38)

Filipino women (who are the highest education of all women, proportionately (Table 8) specialized in the fields of study to which women are expected to give their finest contributions:

1. Nursing.
2. Home Economics.
3. Social Service. (9:43)

Filipino students are in every class division from freshman to graduate study; naturally, the undergraduates outnumber the graduates.

Cultural and Social Status. Filipino student status on American campus has been mixed. Their social interactions are:

1. Cultural -- orations, lectures, forums, operas, and concerts, in the main.
2. Social -- dances, parties, banquets, and shows.
3. Recreational -- baseball, volleyball, swimming, and other sports that do not require a large expenditure of money.

The emphasis is on cultural rather than social activities--money is an influence here. Money also prevents(ed) the students from attending operas, concerts, and dramatic presentations.

The intricacies of the English language cause them difficulties in pronunciation, enunciation, grammar, inflection, emphasis and semantics.

The McDuffie-Tydings Bill of 1934-1935 had a deleterious effect on Filipino enrollment in American institutions of the higher learning for it established the Islands as a separate country, the people considered aliens, and the students who attended American state universities were required to pay tuition fees.

> As soon as the term of ten years (1934-1944) has elapsed, the Filipinos will be classified as one with the Chinese and Japanese under the stigmas of the exclusion acts. There will be a tendency in the years to come that they as students cannot be employed while in a university in any kind of job that will be one that an American could fill as is now being done to other Orientals. (9:60, 61)

Contributions. The Filipino students contributed many things--concrete and abstract, material and immaterial--to their American universities. For example: (1) Americans had an exposure to the Filipino ethos and culture, (2) Many became editors and writers of newspapers at the institution, (3) Many became or wrote for musicians, and (4) Many became inspiring debaters, speakers, and lecturers.

Occupational Outlook. Many of the Filipinos who returned to the Islands are presently (1969) its social, economic, political, religious, and educational leaders. Other students, while not leaders, are contributing their American-learned skills and expertise in the Islands' behalf.

The effect of attending American institutions of higher learning has added significantly to the understanding and relations that have ensued between the Oriental-based Philippine Islands and the Occidental-based United States of America.

1948 - Restrictions on marriages, in California, between Caucasians and other groups was repealed.

1961 - The majority of Californians of Filipino descent had acquired citizenship either through birth or naturalization.

In addition to the foregoing immigration and property laws, many local laws barring Filipinos and other minority groups from eating, recreation, and other social-outlet methods were also abolished.

Second, the Economic Situation: Wars do have some "benefit." World War II was instrumental in opening many new occupations to Filipinos. For example, California's defense industry found employment: (1) in the shipyards, (2) aircraft plants, (3) trucking firms, (4) offices, (5) manufacturing institutions, and (6) in the armed forces.

The Armed Forces veterans had an opportunity to gain citizenship as Americans. In addition, the time spent in the forces gave "service" credit toward positions in the post office, civil service employment, and educational benefits. (The G. U. Bill) See Californians of Japanese, Chinese, and Filipino Ancestry for details on expanded employment rates and numbers. (15:10, 11, 13, 33)

Third, Social Trends moved toward equality of opportunity during and after World War II.

> These social trends generally took four forms: (1) a chance of social status was effected, (2) evidence was manifested of the flourishing of Filipino culture and public presentation of much of it, (3) social changes emerged due to changed geographical distributions and increased mobility; and (4) a positive and often stabilizing influence was effect4d in regard to the decisions of Filipinos to return to the Philippines or remain in the United States. This formation of goal definition was to prove significant. (12:137, 8)

The legal, economic, and social trends of the post World War II years support the concept that a definite thrust toward equality of opportunity and a decline in antipathy due to Oriental ancestry is presently afoot. Time will dedetermine the rate of change, the area(s) of change, and the depth of involvement in American society of the Filipino-American.

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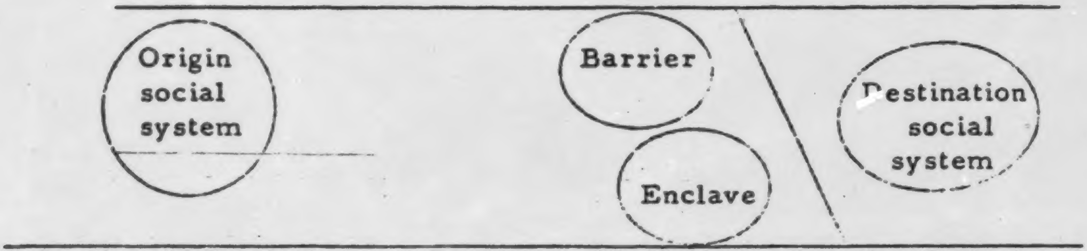
SUMMARY

FIGURE 1

THE SOCIAL ARENA OF MIGRATION *



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* See Arnold G. Holden, "A Typology of Individual Migration Patterns," Summation. Michigan State University, Vol. 1, June 1968. pp. 15-27

The relevant components of the schema of Figure 1 are:

1. The social system in which the imigration originates.
2. The social system of destination.
3. The "Barrier"--which inhibits the assimilation of the migrant into the destination social system, and
4. The "Enclave"--a sub-system of unassimilated migrants, ecologically and economically marginal to the destination social system. (p. 17)

FIGURE 2

A TYPOLOGY OF FREE MIGRATION

High degree of skill	Low degree of skill	
(1) Assimilated	(2) Enclave	High degree of identification
(3) Skilled Refugee	(4) Outcase and trapped	Low degree of identification
(5) Semi-Assimilated	(6) Transient	High degree of identification
(7) Seasonal	(8) Ephemeral	Low degree of identification

THREE VARIABLES DETERMINING MIGRATION (FIGURE 2)

From this conceptualization of the social arena of migration, which appears schematically in Figure 2, has been selected the three variables that appear most important in determining migration patterns. They are related to three of the four social components of the model.

I. Degree of Finality of Dissociation refers to the migrant's relationship with the origin social system.

The migrant leaves his (origin) social system with varying degrees of finality. The person leaving for a vacation or for a short term job elsewhere with full intention of returning is an example of a *low* degree of finality. The person who leaves with the strongly stated intention of never returning, or who would be punished if he returned, exemplifies a *high* degree of finality. (19)

II. Degree of Skill refers to the migrant's relationship with the barrier and possible assimilation into the destination social system.

Migrants vary in their ability to assimilate into the destination social system. The factors determining this ability (or lack of it) are labeled "Degree of Skill." This measure is specific to the destination social system and its barrier and has no necessary reference to the origin social system. (However, the more similar the two systems, the higher the degree of skill of the migrant.)

(I use the term "skill" as the majority of the dimensions of this measure are learned. There are, however, several very important aspect aspects of this variable which are biological or are extremely difficult to learn and which have the same determinative result as acquired skill.)

The general process of assimilation is a complex one. Gino Germani (1967) suggests three dimensions of assimilation--adjustment, participation, and acculturation. (1) Adjustment refers to the ability of the migrant to perform the required roles without excessive psychological stress. (2) Participation refers to the extent of involvement, efficiency of role performance, and integration of the migrant in the organizations and institutions of the destination social system. (3) Acculturation refers to the acquisition and learning roles, habits, values, attitudes and knowledges of the destination social system (Germani, 1967, pp. 163-165). (21)

III. Degree of Identification refers to the migrant's evaluation of the destination social system.

The third dimension of the typology is the migrant's degree of identification with the destination social system. Operationally, the degree of positive or negative evaluation can be used, and a high positive evaluation is equivalent to a high degree of identification. . . . Like degree of skill, degree of identification is specific to the migrant's relationship to the destination social system. This specificity avoids the serious complications arising when we study the migrant who evaluates both systems negatively or both positively. (23)

(1) The Assimilated Migrant--High Skill, High Identification, High Finality.

This type of migrant is found primarily in societies where origin and destination social systems are not highly different and thus facilitate high skill and identification. Finality is likely to be the result of *ex post facto* events. A concrete example would be the engineer born and trained in Detroit who migrated to California and who now thinks of himself as a Californian.

In developing nations, this type of migrant would most typically be one who has gained extensive education and training in rural areas, but who has left the rural area permanently. Generally, the migrant has strong guarantees of success before migration; thus finality is increased. (25)

Japanese:	High skill	- Negative
	High Identification	- Negative
	High Finality	- Negative (low)
Chinese:	High Skill	- Negative
	High Identification	- Negative
	High Finality	- Negative (low)
Filipino:	High Skill	- Negative
	High Identification	- Negative
	High Finality	- Negative (low)

(2) The Enclave Migrant - Low Skill, High Identification, High Finality.

The enclave migrant is by far the greatest source of social problems of all types of migrants. The Mississippi share-cropper in Detroit, the Italian peasant in Germany, and the *campesino* in Buenos Aires are all enclave migrants.

The high degree of finality and high identification with the destination social system leave the migrant no alternative but assimilation into the destination social system, but his assimilation is prevented by his lack of sufficient skills to cross the barrier. (25)

Japanese:	Low Skill	- Positive
	High Identification	- Negative
	High Finality	- Negative (low)
Chinese:	Low Skill	- Positive
	High Identification	- Negative
	High Finality	- Negative (low)

Filipino:	Low Skill	- Positive
	High Identification	- Negative
	High Finality	- Negative (low)

(3) The Skilled Refugee - High Skill, Low Identification, High Finality.

The technically skilled refugees of the twentieth century are examples of this type of migrant. The conditions leading to dissociation are the most important factors in the migration, but a hgih degree of skill allows relatively rapid assimilation. (25)

Japanese:	High Skill	- Negative
	Low Identification	- Negative
	High Finality	- Negative
Chinese:	High Skill	- Negative
	Low Identification	- Negative
	High Finality	- Negative
Filipino:	High Skill	- Negative
	Low Identification	- Negative
	High Finality	- Negative

(4a) The Outcast Migrant - Low Skill, Low Identification, High Finality.

The Outcast Migrants are probably more frequent than Skilled Refugees, because of the greater proportion of non-transferring skills among many of the political refugees (e.g., unskilled Cuban refugees in Florida). In addition, this type of migration would include the heretic and other norm violators who choose to leave their origin social system rather than accept the sanctions for remaining without altering their behavior.

(4b) The Trapped Migrant - Low Skill, Low Identification, High Finality.

There is an empirically important difference in dissociation which differentiates the Trapped Migrant from the Outcast Migrant. The Trapped Migrant is unable to return to the origin social system because of the great cost in return travel. Typically, this migrant is lured to the destination social system by hopes of immediate and extensive success but discovers that his expectations are based on inaccurate information. However, he can not pay the "cost" of returning to the origin social system and becomes trapped in the enclave. (25)

Filipino:	Low Skill	- Positive
	High Identification	- Negative
	High Finality	- Negative (low)

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	Low Identification	- Negative
	High Finality	- Negative

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Japanese:

The Outcast:
Low Skill - Negative
Low Identification - Negative
High Finality - Negative (low)

The Trapped:
Low Skill - Negative
Low Identification - Negative
High Finality - Positive

Chinese:

The Outcast:
Low Skill - Negative
Low Identification - Negative
High Finality - Negative (low)

The Trapped:
Low Skill - Negative
Low Identification - Negative
High Finality - Positive

Filipino:

The Outcast:
Low Skill - Negative
Low Identification - Negative
High Finality - Negative (low)

The Trapped:
Low Skill - Negative
Low Identification - Negative
High Finality - Positive

(5) The Semi-Assimilated Migrant - High Skill, High Identification, Low Finality.

The American mobile middle class is perhaps the best example of this type. Migration occurs with ease, but without strong dissociative events at the origin social system. Social and psychological ties with the origin social system may be maintained for many years, although assimilation in the destination social system occurs rapidly.

Because of the low degree of finality, including ease of return migration, this migrant is not as quick to discard old behaviors and attitudes in the new system, although he can operate efficiently in the new system. This type of migration is most likely to occur when the two systems are very similar. (26)

Japanese:	High Skill	- Negative
	High Identification	- Negative
	Low Finality	- Negative (low)
Chinese:	High Skill	- Negative
	High Identification	- Negative
	Low Finality	- Negative (low)
Filipino:	High Skill	- Negative
	High Identification	- Negative
	Low Finality	- Negative (low)

(6) The Transient Migrant - Low Skill, High Identification, Low Finality.

This type is exemplified by the migrant who wishes to assimilate in the destination social system, but possesses skill insufficient to pass the barrier. Unlike the Enclaver, the Transient finds his bet hedged, as the finality of dissociation is low. As a result, the Transient often returns to the origin social system. The Transient is likely to attempt assimilation in the destination social system several times and may become involved in an inter-systemic occupation. (26)

Japanese:	Low Skill	- Positive
	High Identification	- Negative
	Low Finality	- Positive
Chinese:	Low Skill	- Positive
	High Identification	- Negative
	Low Finality	- Positive
Filipino:	Low Skill	- Positive
	High Identification	- Negative
	Low Finality	- Positive

(7) The Ephemeral Migrant - Low Skill, Low Identification, Low Finality.

The Ephemeral Migrant enters the migration process with insufficient information or on the basis of a perceived slight chance of becoming a Transient or Seasonal Migrant. Upon discovering the "real" nature of the destination social system, he returns to the origin social system, and is unlikely to migrate again under any similar circumstances. (27)

Japanese:	Low Skill	- Negative
	Low Identification	- Positive
	Low Finality	- Positive
Chinese:	Low Skill	- Negative
	Low Identification	- Positive
	Low Finality	- Positive

Filipino:

Low Skill - Negative
Low Identification - Positive
Low Finality - Positive

FIGURE 3

SUMMARY OF MIGRATION VARIABLES

	Finality				Skill				Identification			
	High		Low		High		Low		High		Low	
	Neg.	Pos.	Neg.	Pos.	Neg.	Pos.	Neg.	Pos.	Neg.	Pos.	Neg.	Pos.
Japanese	3	1	3	2	4	0	3	2	4	0	2	3
Chinese	3	1	4	2	4	0	2	2	4	1	1	3
Filipino	4	12	2	2	4	0	3	2	4	1	1	3
Totals	10	3	9	6	12	0	8	6	12	2	4	9

A review of the preceding summary (Figure 3) confirms the intense and heavy similarity of the three Oriental groups--Japanese, Chinese, and Filipino. For example:

I. Degree of Finality of Dissociation is a high negative count which indicates that the groups left for a short term job elsewhere with full intention of returning.

II. Degree of Skill with a high negative count testifies that they did not have a similarity of skills that would hasten their ability to assimilate into the destination social system--Americanization.

III. Degree of Identification shows a high negative number which indicates that the immigrants did not identify with Americans.

The preceding high counts in finality, skill, and identification portray vividly a root of the acculturation, transculturation, and assimilation of the Orientals. First, they, as a group, wanted and did maintain their nationalism--customs, languages, mores, folkways, and traditions. They looked upon America as a sign post on the road to riches, fame, and status to take "back home."

Second, the group, collectively, brought rural and agricultural skills to an urban and industrial society; therefore, their skills were highly temporary in the face of a technological-oriented America.

Third, since their population count, singly, and collectively, was and is low, their identification with the majority was minimal. In other words, the barriers (finality, skill, and identification)--the social and social-psychological requirements which the migrants must meet to become assimilated into the destination social system--historically have been too high and impenetrable for rapid Oriental assimilation into the mainstream of America. On the other hand, their strong family cohesion and factor has contributed to surmounting of educational achievement barriers.

Education in American schools is second in importance only to the family for socialization purposes. In both institutions, youngsters of all ethnic groups learn the behaviors, the skills, the norms, the means, and the modes of functioning in the larger society of America. The family, regardless of ethnicity, is essentially authoritarian. The American society is equalitarian; therefore, there is a limit to how much the social scientist can learn about American society by studying only the family. In the school, however, the essentially equalitarian peer group is more important than any other structure and the social scientist can learn much about how a society works by studying the educational system and the forces and dilemmas that impinge upon it.

Education is given more emphasis in the United States than in any other country in the world. For example, sixty per cent of the population graduate from high school, and approximately thirty per cent enter scollege. The American interest on education for all, regardless of ethnicity, is a result of American traditional and emergent values.

Education, through the public schools, is one of the socialization processes that is available to immigrants and the descendants of immigrants. The school has been the only place where children of parents unfamiliar with American language and customs could learn how to live in American society. Equalitarianism and the need to socialize immigrants have given rise to the elaborate school system in America. For example, in the Philippine Islands, as a result of the spread of American values--partly through Protestant Missionaries--education is now highly prized, even though "The Islands" are still poor.

Education as a system in America has two objectives--to eliminate inherited class (immigrated) differences and to socialize immigrants--America's educational methods differ from those of European systems, which have different goals and immigrant complements. The elimination of inherited differences is facilitated by exposing all school goers to a common acculturation and transculturation experience. Nevertheless, a number of experiences hinder the acculturation and transculturation process; some experiences are:

1. Students tend to associate with peers of similar class, ethnic group, and pigmentation.

2. Some schools in industrial towns, for example, fit their gr only for local employment.

3. Schools have students of only one ethnic group.

4. "Lock step," "prison" curriculum, or both, often are devised to fit the group educational stereotype.

Education in an integrated school appears to promote integration in the community. Integration has the effect of giving children from "culturally different" groups a reference group composed of children from a culture that is different from their own. The social environment of a student affects his stimulation, motivation, and behavior in school. When non-white and lower class students can go to school with children of other groups, their motivation is better and when it is, the school is better able to socialize them, particularly immigrants, into the "American way."

Education, as an American commitment, has consequences for teachers, as well as for students. Education in America has the proportions of a vast industry. With perhaps as many as three hundred thousand persons engaged in higher education and hundreds of thousands more in secondary and elementary education the significant count of teachers alone gives an indication of the importance of education in the United States.

Education, through the schools, as a socialization process cannot accomplish the entire acculturation, transculturation, and assimilation processes. Actually, the school system is an institution that is part of a larger society, and the values of the larger society limit the social changes that can take place in the school system; the school system will not change except as other parts of the larger society (political, economic, religious, and ethical) change. The changes that would improve the school system, and thereby hasten social change, are not minor matters; they are matters of public policy about salaries, long-range goals, what knowledge is of most worth, who should be educated, who can be educated, and presently (1969) who should be employed to educate.

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